

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

The Monitor's view

## An appeal from Africa

As Americans commemorated the beginning of their country's struggle for freedom and representative government last weekend, they were quite reasonably asked to make it clear that they support such government in Africa. President Kaunda of Zambia said the major intent of his talk with President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger was to encourage the administration to take a position along these lines in southern Africa.

Mr. Kaunda's mission on a bicentennial weekend reminded us of a young African liberalizationist's words to one of our correspondents in Africa just a year ago, "No taxation without representation," he said, echoing the American independence fighters' cry. "The U.S. should be the first to help us, but it is the last. . . . We don't like war in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), but we have no alternative. You fought the British. Now you are friends with them. That's what we want, too."

In that short year, Portugal has relinquished its hold on its African colonies. And in Rhodesia there have been progress and setbacks in forging an alternative to the war the young liberalizationist lamented.

President Kaunda, whose country was formerly Northern Rhodesia, has been a leader in seeking an end to the guerrilla war in Rhodesia and establishing "detente" between Africa's black majority and white minority. South Africa's Prime Minister Vorster, too,

## That UN 'majority'

The runaway "third world" majority in the United Nations General Assembly has not made things easy for the Americans who are committed to keeping their country in the UN — a sturdy 75 percent of the citizenry, according to the latest Gallup poll.

But the third world is not going to disappear. And the United States, celebrating the bicentennial of its own independence, cannot but have a basic sympathy with the growing pains of more recently independent lands.

The question is how the third world's varied assortment of African, Asian, and Latin-American nations can be dealt with most fruitfully by the U.S. and other industrialized countries for everybody's benefit.

Several concepts of constructive compromise, and honest disagreement have emerged in the wake of last December's indictment of the "tyranny of the majority" by the U.S., Britain, France, and other members of the Western "minority" (which, incidentally, pays more than half the UN's bills).

The most pungently innovative of these approaches is the one suggested by the former U.S. Ambassador to India, Daniel Moynihan. It is for the U.S. to stop apologizing, stop appeasing, and assume the role of loyal opposition in the "quasi-parliament" of the UN. In a nice, typically Moynihan touch, he argues that exposing the third world's shortcomings would really show respect for it.

What must be remembered is that the UN "majority" is not right. Indeed, the U.S. has more often than not been part of it. The U.S. will continue to be part of it, but it will be a minority, and a minority of minorities, voting with some third world members and against others.

There seems hope for growingly enlightened parliamentary debate in Mr. Moynihan's analysis of the third world's prevailing ideology as derived from British socialism.

Because of this heritage, "the prospect now is that the world will not go totalitarian," writes Mr. Moynihan. But he warns that his own reported distaste in Latin America may be part of the problem. Washington needs to realize that it is going to be increasingly difficult to shore up its frayed ties with Latin America as a result of the postponements.

After all, the economic and trade issues buffering U.S.-Latin American relations may be less pressing than Vietnam at the moment. But in the long run they are no less important to the U.S. and a good deal more important to Latin America.

It is in the interest of both the West and the third world to maintain a tone of voice that permits creative dialogue. Within a matter of weeks after the December flare-up, the U.S.

has been working to ameliorate relations in the face of the opposition of the white Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia to permitting black majority rule.

America's former Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Donald Easum, did display an earnest of his country's good intentions by being the first Western diplomat to visit the transitional government in Mozambique. But he was replaced by Secretary Kissinger over the protest of the Organization for African Unity — a fact to be noted without prejudging the performance of Mr. Easum's successor, Nathaniel Davis. And the U.S. has managed to give the impression of tilting toward the white minority rather than black majority in southern Africa.

It may seem a small matter that Dr.

Kissinger did not meet Mr. Kaunda's flight in Washington. The omission may not have been meant as any sort of signal. But Africans can hardly be blamed for wondering if it was supposed to tell them something. Is Dr. Kissinger's repeated intention of paying more attention to Africa to be acted on or not?

President Kaunda apparently is not asking for specific U.S. actions on this trip. But he would like the administration to convey a sense of welcome and encouragement to the movement for independence and representative government in Africa. Considering the traditions America is now celebrating so heartily, it can hardly do less.

"Isn't that the same inspector who reviewed the situation in Southeast Asia?"



Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

Vietnam: the guns fall silent

## After Vietnam: America rethinks role

By Joseph C. Harrach

reaction; or the demoralization of Vietnam this past week.

That there will still be American military power is certain. It also is certain that it will be used with more restraint than it was in Vietnam when Lyndon Johnson said he would "nail the coonkin to the door."

The flamboyant phase is over. American power will have to be less expensive in the future in both blood and treasure. The American people are weary of the cost of war, especially in the French phase. The peoples of Indochina are about to shape their own future — in some Soviet and Chinese influence, but American presence.

It will still be needed because it is a major element of stability in the world. Without it there would be chaos. No other country — probably not even the Soviet Union — would really want to see the United States lapse back into the condition of military feebleness which existed between demobilization in 1918 and the beginning of rearmament in 1938.

The most ardent and outspoken advocates of American military strength today are the Chinese, who regard it as essential to the containment of the Soviets. The Soviets would undoubtedly like to see it recede into the Atlantic and Pacific basins, but not disappear altogether. Even they begin to sense that polluting the world is an expensive burden.

The reasons for the era of American military power can help us today in looking ahead. In 1933 Adolf Hitler became German chancellor, his Nazis burned the Reichstag, and he took Germany out of the League of Nations. In 1934 the Nazis assassinated Austrian Chancellor Dollfuss and Hitler became the dictator of Germany. In 1935 Hitler repudiated the Versailles Treaty, ordered conscription, and began German rearmament. Mussolini invaded Ethiopia in defiance of the League of Nations.

Until 1950 Washington was preoccupied largely with attempts to restructure the stagnant American economy. But the anxiety produced by the behavior of Hitler and Mussolini became the stimulus to rearmament. Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a naval enthusiast. He began using funds appropriated for the general purpose of economic recovery to lay the keels of the destroyers, cruisers, and battleships which 10 years later

assisted also is coming from the World Council of Churches, the World Alliance of YMCAs, the United Nations, the Mennonite Central Committee, the Church World Service, and others.

Dr. Nicholas Gancharov, UN ambassador for the Alliance of YMCAs in 68 countries, says his organization has 40 teams in and around Saigon.

As with the other relief agency officials, Dr. Gancharov stresses, "We do not take sides. We try to help all human beings in need, regardless of which government is in power."

Some \$200,000 in emergency food commodities were shipped to Haiphong last week after the PRG sought assistance from the United Nations. According to the Rev. Boyd

Red Cross officials have issued an emer-

## Can votes stop communism?

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Lisbon, Finland, and Portugal. A litany of three countries comes to thought as a reporter turns to his typewriter in sunny Lisbon, knowing that in the streets below gray crowds are strolling, with carnations in their lapels or clutched in their hands. Even when they shout fierce hammer-and-sickle slogans such as "Down with huge estates," or "Out with the CIA," there is good humor, as if this handsome riverside city of cream-colored walls and red-tiled roofs were still savoring its second May Day in freedom.

Halfway round the world, the citizens of Saigon — "fallen" or "liberated" depending on one's point of view — await their future under communist rule with a mixture of apprehension and relief. Relief that the long years of fighting are over. Anxiety as the Viet Cong takes over and, no doubt much sooner than once anticipated, North and South Vietnam are reunited under the yellow starred banner of the northern republic.

Is Portugal about to go the way of South Vietnam — by war, but through the cleave, manipulations of the Communist Party operating on a politically naive Armed Forces Movement? That is what some Westerners believe — Julian Critchley, for instance, British defense "expert" and Conservative Member of Parliament who recently wrote, "Portugal appears lost to the West."

The answer depends on one's point of view. If one is a businessman, and finds once-dodle employees suddenly forming committees to demand higher wages, or participation in management decisions, or simply to take over a factory, one is understandably worried — perhaps even distraught.

But if one recognized that some form of explosion was inevitable after nearly half a century of authoritarianism, then what has happened so far in Portugal seems mild. Above all, the people of Portugal have the memory of a promise kept: free elections for a

\*Please turn to Page 15

## The Cambodian tragedy: next phase

With the surrender of Phnom Penh to Communist-led insurgents, one phase of Cambodia's tragic ordeal comes to an end. Both the insurgents and the United States now bear a responsibility for alleviating the potential tragedy of the next phase.

Residents of the capital have been worried by reports of what one recently departed American official calls the "very, very rough" tactics of the insurgents in politically restructuring captured villages along Communist lines. Such tactics, abhorrent in themselves, cannot be condoned, but they must be applied against the resistance more likely in Phnom Penh than in the villages. The insurgents have the responsibility to practice restraint and to take constructive action in restoring the country they have won.

As for the U.S., its years of involvement in Cambodia dictate a special responsibility in the international humanitarian task of succoring the Cambodian people. It is still the dry season in Cambodia. There will be no new rice crop for some months. Without rice, there will be starvation. Through international agencies acceptable to the new regime, the U.S. must do its part in supplying the rice.

Beyond such immediate concrete actions, Americans need to draw lessons from this experience if it is not to be written off as wasted effort and wasted lives, the way some American comment has already described it.

America cannot rightly lament this was a war "we fought and we lost." Though government troop morale undoubtedly suffered when

extra emergency aid was given, the insurgents, like the Americans, were driven by a desire to end the conflict. Besides ending the American phase in Southeast Asia, the withdrawal also marks the end of the American attitude toward the world. The U.S. gave the Cambodians "a second chance" in 1947 with the Truman Doctrine. It could do it again.

Underlying problem was a lack of a viable alternative strategy.

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## World sends relief to Vietnam

By George Moneyham  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

New York

camp,

"We hope eventually to get them back to their own villages and to provide them with basic supplies," explained one official.

Indications are that the ideal communist masters are anxious to see the flow of food, medical aid, clothing, and refugee shelter continue, and officials directing the massive relief programs are tentatively making plans for long-term commitments of assistance to the area.

Relief-agency officials say their contacts with the occupying Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) lead them to believe there will be no mass reprisals or "bloodbaths" — although reprisals against some higher level South Vietnamese officials are considered inevitable.

Officials of the International Red Cross are gratified that their presence in the occupied territory was officially recognized by the Viet Cong, April 26. This means the Geneva-based group will be able to funnel supplies directly to Da Nang, rather than have them routed first through government channels in Hanoi, as they have been.

Red Cross officials have issued an emer-

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Treasures  
of the  
barbarians

The Soviet Ministry of Culture has lent New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art a priceless collection of golden objects. They once adorned the fierce nomads who rode out of Central Asia to found an empire by the sea.

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## THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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## FOCUS

By Francis Renny

London  
The British have always taken the view that one should never pay artists well — it only encourages them. As a result, Britain's public subsidies to the arts are about the lowest in Europe. Some say this ensures the survival of only the fittest painters, writers and musicians. Others appear to think it brings closer the ideal of stamping them out altogether.

A survey recently conducted by the Arts Council of Great Britain, the officially financed but self-governing body which passes out what subsidies there are, makes one wonder how long it will be before the latter school can stage its victory celebration — at least over painters, sculptors and graphic designers.

A questionnaire returned by a sample 240 artists — more than half of them under 35 years of age — showed their median (average) income to be £1300 (\$3000) for women and £2250 (\$3300) for men. Only one in ten (none of them women) earned as much as £4500 a year (\$10,500), while three out of ten earned £1500 (\$3500) or less.

Things begin to sound better when one reads that almost half the sample also worked as art teachers. But they cease to do so when it is appreciated that the income figures include their salaries as teachers. However, it is impossible to disagree with the Arts Council's conclusion that "Obviously a job in an art school ... is an essential source of livelihood to many an artist."

That gloom thickens once more when it is discovered that — partly as an economy measure, partly from a misguided belief that all teachers of everything must be full-



time — practising artists are being dismissed from part-time teaching posts in British art schools. The policy deprives the artists of their bread and butter, and the students of contact with working, as opposed to academic, artists.

The further one looks, the grimmer the prospects for British painters, sculptors and illustrators become. Writers can more easily work part-time, or indulge in journalism and reviewing. Like musicians, they get some union backing. A British writer seldom pays an agent more than 15% commission. It is common for artists to lose 33-50% to their galleries, and the proportion of their earnings which must be spent on materials are for higher.

Then there are studios to be rented, frames and catalogues to be paid for.

Inflation — now roaring upwards in Britain like a rocket to Mars — has had an effect upon visual artists which is almost unknown to their confreres in other media. People with money to preserve have been buying paintings, prints and sculpture as investments, whether they personally like

## Eurosummit would relax barriers

By Eric Bourne  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Vienna  
A few more weeks should show whether or not there is to be an all-European summit meeting together with the United States and Canada in Helsinki by the end of July.

The Europeans need a month to make the necessary arrangements for a 35-nation conference which will attract not only heads of state, but also a thousand diplomats and officials and probably several hundred journalists.

Just a few weeks remain, therefore, to finish work on a document on European security and cooperation which the leaders will debate and endorse. Work on the document has been going on in Geneva for 2½ years.

Besides, people argue, is one of the first things to order to pay the food bills. Both Western and East-bloc diplomats are

autously forecasting that the remaining negotiations — some military, others related to East

Central Europe — will be overcome in time.

The agenda's three main areas of discussion — specializations like fashion design, called "baskets" — are in varying stages of completion.

The first, on security itself, has been boiled

down to 10 principles of more or less general

begin, and that for every one of which

there must be a score of sub-

paragraphs. Basket one was the Soviet Union's obvious

concern, because it will in effect give formal

recognition to the international sanction of Europe's frontiers as

survey, who can blame the

drawn by the wartime Western-Soviet alliance

advise aspiring artists to try and Potdam.

Here, the Soviets have secured essentially

what they set out to get. The final argument

now is over so-called "confidence-building"

provisions in the military field. On these, the

Soviets have made one concession, accepting

the Westerners' deadlock — the West's proposal

for mutual advance notice of troop movements and exercises.

They stipulate, however, that this advance

notice should be voluntary and not obligatory.

Debate continues over precisely what "voluntary"

means. But both sides say an agreed

formula will be found. The Soviets, meanwhile,

surprised everyone by coming up with an

unprecedented notification of some pending

military exercise in Eastern Europe.

The second basket concerns economic and

related forms of international cooperation,

which, in the period of detente, presented

few substantial difficulties.

The third basket has been easily the most

strongly disputed section of the draft docu-

ment. The hope in the West is that it will

outline some relaxation of barriers to contact

and exchange between peoples. The West

proposed this as a primary condition for a

European conference.

"Recently they've told us

they would be willing to give

so that the factories could open

again," said Matos.

The acceptance of the U.S.S.R.'s stand on

territorial status quo in Europe seems

assured. It remains to be seen just how much,

nonetheless, the West will receive in return

in the way of freer movement of peoples and

ideas between the communist and Western

worlds.

Mr. Matos makes 220 escudos

a day, which is considered a

most of the village; he voted for

the Socialists. So did his brother who had

been a teacher in France. The population of

the village is 1,000, mostly

farmers. The population of the

town is 10,000, mostly

commuters from the

surrounding countryside.

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# Europe

## General Franco acts to flush out Basque gunmen

By Richard Mowrer  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Madrid  
A state of emergency giving the police sweeping powers has been decreed in two provinces of northern Spain.

Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa, and their capital cities Bilbao and San Sebastian, have been the scene of escalating attacks by the Basque guerrilla organization ETA against members of the Franco regime's security forces.

The "Estado de Excepcion" decreed by Gen. Francisco Franco late last month in effect converts the two provinces into outright police states. Its duration is for three months but could be extended.

The police now have unlimited power to make arrests at will and detain anyone indefinitely. People may be jailed without trial or arbitrarily deported to distant parts of the country. Searches may be carried out anywhere without a warrant.

Newspapers and periodicals are subject to prior censorship. The authorities may prohibit certain television and radio programs if these are deemed prejudicial to the maintenance of order.

The granting of additional powers to the police may seem academic in an authoritarian state like Spain. But in normal circumstances legal restraints usually apply which give the individual a measure of protection from police excesses. Under the law an arrested person may not be held longer than 72 hours without bringing his case to the attention of a magistrate. Lawyers may intervene.

But where a state of emergency is in force there is nothing lawyers can do. If they interfere they are liable to arrest themselves, and possible imprisonment or deportation.

From the moment Spain's veteran Caudillo signed the state-of-emergency decree last week police in Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa carried out swoops and searches, reportedly making many arrests.

The present emergency measures are the sixth to affect the Basque provinces since 1967.

A more subtle way for dealing with dissent was devised: the arbitrary imposition of heavy fines without trial. Persons unable or unwilling to pay are kept in prison from one to three months, depending on the size of the fine which can be as much as 500,000 pesetas (\$9,000).



The face of the Basque country

## Hammer and sickle flies less brazenly in Portugal now

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Lisbon  
Portugal's nine million people begin the second year of their revolution bathed in the euphoria of having experienced their first open elections in half a century.

The country faces stark economic problems, and the political orientation of the ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA) remains ambiguous. But the people, including the armed forces, now have an important shared memory to add to that of last year's military coup that ended 48 years of authoritarian rule and that brought Lisbon's citizens dancing into the streets with red carnations for every soldier they saw.

That memory is one of the long lines of men and women, many in their Sunday best, waiting patiently under the warming Iberian sun to enter their polling stations, mark their ballots, fold them neatly in four and drop them into boxes under the eyes of election officials and scrutineers from the major parties.

There was 92 percent participation, and less than 5 percent of spoiled or blank ballots. Nothing went wrong. Despite the tension, rumors, and incidents of the weeks leading up to the election, the voting itself went off in perfect calm and order and in almost a fiesta atmosphere.

This is almost as important as the results of the voting. It has given the Portuguese people an enormous sense of pride, of having proved they are ripe for democracy, as Socialist leader Mario Soares put it. They have rejoined the mainstream of Europe.

The results were a surprise to the MFA, a great boost to the country's major democratic parties, and a setback for the Communists.

The MFA expected a 40 percent blank vote, as Social Communications Minister Jorge Correia Jesuino candidly admitted Saturday, on the morrow of the election. Instead, less than 8 percent of the voters cast blank or spoiled ballots. The Socialist Party took a whopping 38 percent of the votes, and the Popular Democratic Party (PDP) came second with over a quarter of the votes cast. The Communists came a poor third, with 13 percent, while their allies the Popular Democratic Movement (MDP) took less than 5 percent. The conservative Center for Democratic Socialism scored a surprising 7 percent.

A large blank vote would have meant many voters lacked confidence in any of the major political parties and would hence have enhanced the authority of the MFA. Throughout Friday, the day of the election, the government radio urged undecided voters to cast blank ballots.

But in villages like Aguas de Moura, or sophisticated towns like Estoril, voters said

they had no intention of leaving their ballots blank. Only an ignoramus would do that, said a grizzled farmer in Aguas de Moura.

The result increases the moral authority of the political parties in their dealings with the MFA. Four parties are currently in a coalition government with the MFA — the Socialists, the PDP, the Communists and the MDP. The four have already signed a compact with the MFA conceding the latter the major political role for a transitional period of three to five years. Friday's election — for a Constituent Assembly — does not in any way change this compact. But whereas, until now, all four parties had more or less equal weight, the Socialists and the PDP, now can claim that together they represent nearly two-thirds of the electorate.

Physical power, however, remains with the MFA, a fact that none of the political parties can challenge, and that predisposes all of them to great prudence in their public comments.

The Communists did not want an election

quite so soon. They knew that although they are by far the best organized party, they had not been able to translate organized large enough blocks of committed voters.

They are not happy that the election exposed numerical weakness, but they will influence with the MFA. They control important sectors of the economy such as Transport and Communications. Minta is the country's major trade union federation.

What lessons the MFA itself will draw from the election will be of crucial importance to the future of Portuguese democracy. MFA is committed both to the Portuguese way to socialism and to pluralist democracy. President Costa Gomes made plain election-eve speech. Behind a facade of there are several divergent currents in the armed forces. If the election strengthens moderate elements within the forces, there could be a diminution of Communist influence and a strengthening of positions of the Socialists and of the PDP.

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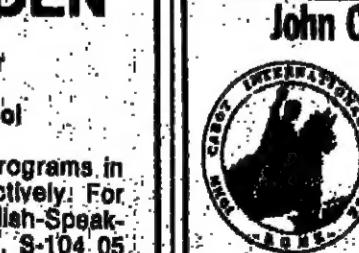
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## Swiss tune up for jazz

By Reuter

Willisau, Switzerland  
This little market town in the center of Switzerland has two specialties — hard biscuits and modern jazz.

Willisau, the biscuits, are hardly known outside Switzerland. But the modern jazz concerts in the picturesque town, 30 miles from Lucerne, have established a word-of-mouth reputation well beyond the country's frontiers in the past seven years.

Willisau (population: 2,700) will stage its first international jazz festival in August.

Many stars of British and United States avant-garde jazz, such as Keith Jarrett, Chick Corea, and John Surman, have played to packed audiences at Willisau and sung its praises.

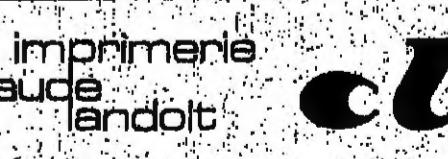
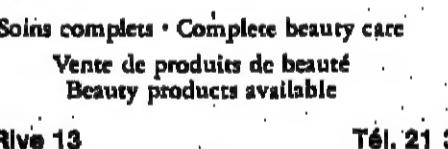
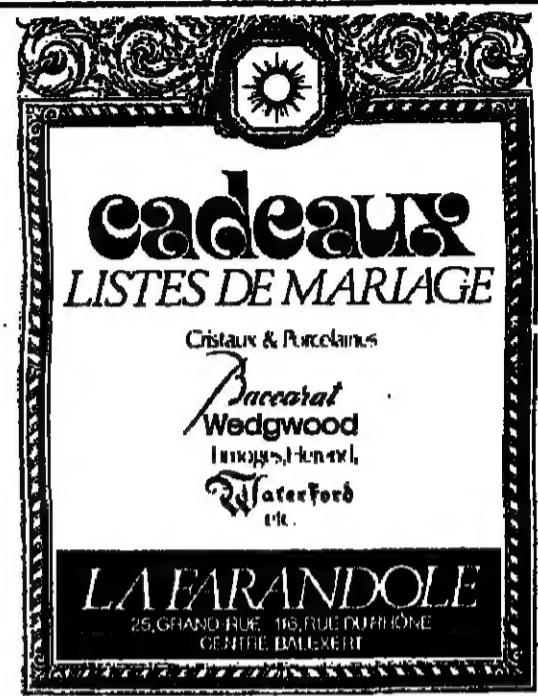
"Willisau is really one of the best places for music," American pianist Jarrett said after a concert. A thousand people have crowded into a hall which more usually rings with the sound of Swiss folk music, the local brass band, and the male voice choir.

The 14 or 15 concerts a year are master-minded by Niklaus Troxler, who runs a design studio in the town. He is also organizing the three-day August festival.

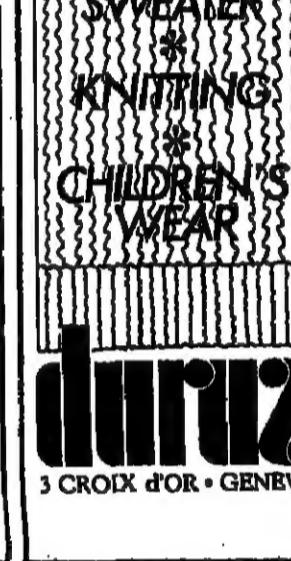
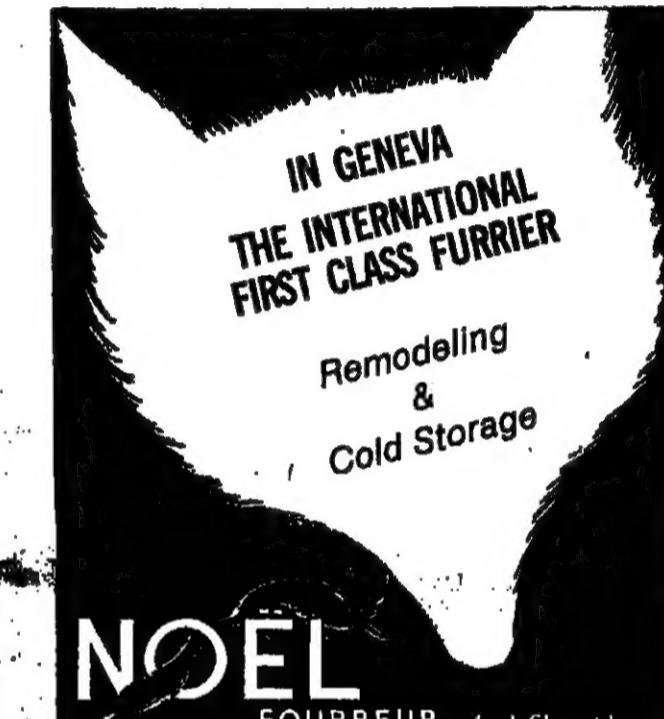
"My idea was to get European and American musicians together at the same time so that people could see and hear that European jazz is as good as in the states," he said.

He added that his festival was not meant to compete with the more-famous Montreux jazz festival, which takes place each summer on the shores of Lake Geneva.

# GENEVA SWITZERLAND



## GENEVA SWITZERLAND



# Soviet Union

## A painter from outer space

By Dev Murarka  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

**Zvezdny Gorodok, U.S.S.R.**  
If the art exhibit had been held anywhere else in the Soviet Union, it might have been taken as the work of a talented, but dissident artist.

But the 40 or so paintings — landscapes, cosmescapes and churchscapes — occupy a prestigious place in this special city's clubhouse.

The city is Zvezdny Gorodok, the Soviet Union's space control center. And the paintings are the spare-time work of Col. Alexei Leonov, the veteran Soviet cosmonaut who is to take part in the joint Soviet-American space flight this coming July.

American correspondents were allowed to view these paintings on their way to a press conference held during a visit by the American astronauts assigned to the joint mission — Thomas P. Stafford, Vance Brand, Donald Slayton, and back-up man Alan Bean.

It was a confused sort of occasion, with mutual back-slapping and wisecracks. No one appeared to be much concerned about possible snags in the coming flight.

Alan Bean probably best expressed this feeling when answering persistent questions. He said, "There is nothing slipped about their operation," and expressed his confidence that, as far as can be possibly determined, everything will go well.

The American astronauts and their Soviet counterparts were transiting through the Soviet space control center for final training at the launching site in Central Asia, Tyuratam. Aside from President de Gaulle of France, the American astronauts will be the only foreigners to have been allowed there so far.

Little new light was thrown on the coming space mission during the press conference. It was Colonel Leonov's exhibit which made it a memorable occasion. Although the works were the product of his leisure time, there was little amateurish about them.

Colonel Leonov is perhaps most successful in landscapes, which have a lyrical quality about them. But it was moving and curious to see just how many churchscapes there were, too, about 10 even though they were less successful as paintings.

Most of his landscapes and church paintings were done in the Vladimir-Suzdal area, one of the regions containing the remains of medieval Russian culture and some of the most beautiful churches. He seems to spend most of his vacations in this region, only about a hundred miles from Moscow.

One painting, "Cosmic Morning, March 18, 1965," with the sun on a glowing red horizon, especially conveyed something of the color and romance of outer space. Maybe, after his next trip, Colonel Leonov will be inspired to do some more paintings in this genre.

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## Another Soviet novelist exiled

By Paul Wohl

Written for The Christian Science Monitor  
Viktor Nekrasov, Soviet war hero and popular war novelist, has joined the ranks of Russian writers in exile.

While he still lived in the Soviet Union his works were translated into more than 30 languages, and one book, "In the Trenches of Stalingrad," won the Stalin prize of literature.

Mr. Nekrasov, who also was a member of the Soviet Communist Party, has had several brushes with the authorities since the early 1960s. But his real trouble began in 1969 when he signed a letter protesting the arbitrary arrest of a Ukrainian writer and later spoke at a memorial service for the tens of thousands of Jews killed by the Nazis at Babi-Yar.

Only Mr. Nekrasov's popularity enabled him to survive years of blacklisting and harassment in the Soviet Union. Right up to his emigrating, he tried to remain in his native Russia even if it meant no longer being published and becoming a literary non-person.

The last straw came early this year. "On January 17, nine polite people presented themselves in my (Kiev) apartment and for two days conducted a search. They would not touch me, they said, but they warned: 'Your friends should know that it is dangerous to be friendly with you.'"

That is how Mr. Nekrasov, during a brief stop-over in New York, described the circumstances prior to his departure.

"The friends knew," he said. "There were fewer phone calls. Some friends were arrested, others expelled from the party. And when they (his friends) started crossing to the other side of the street (instead of greeting him), I decided to leave." He received his papers without difficulty.

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# Persian Gulf

## States forge pact to keep big powers at bay

By John Cooley  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Beirut, Lebanon  
In a startling reversal of the former hostility and mistrust among them, Iraq, Iran, and Saudi Arabia are moving toward agreement on a nonaggression pact to ward off either Soviet or United States interference in the Persian Gulf area.

The concept of a nonaggression pact and the growing harmony among Iran and its Arab neighbors was disclosed by a high-ranking Arab Government official in the gulf, a private oil and economic bulletin published here.

President Houari Boumedienne of Algeria proposed the idea as a first step toward regional detente in the gulf, with a view to keeping the big powers out of local gulf disputes, the APBS said.

Irqi Vice-President Saddam Hussein told the Washington Post in an interview published last week that Iraq hoped the gulf states would move toward a collective security system of their own.

The Iraqi-Iranian Algiers agreement of March 6 to end their border hostilities, in which President Bourmedienne played a key role, provided a foundation for the projected new gulf pact. The first sacrifice arising from its implementation was the Kurdish nationalist movement in northern Iraq, cut off from its former Iranian military aid and now going underground.

Arab diplomats here believe the second sacrifice to gulf security may be asked of Kuwait. Iraq wants the strategic Kuwaiti islands of Warbah and Bubiyan in order to

fortify them for the defense of Iraq's Persian Gulf oil terminal nearby.

These diplomats say the Shah of Iran has dropped his opposition to Iraqi acquisition of the islands.

(After Iraqi forces attacked Kuwaiti border posts on their undemarcated boundary in March, 1973, Iran warned it would oppose any Iraqi move into the islands by military force, whether Kuwait wanted such Iranian help or not.)

Saudi Arabia also may have withdrawn its earlier objection to the Iraqi interest in the islands. Iraqi radio attacks on the Saudi monarchy ended earlier this year, and there were Iraqi-Saudi talks at the time of the late King Faisal's funeral in March which reportedly included discussion of the islands.

Afterward, Iraqi's Saddam Hussein praised Saudi "understanding of our viewpoints" on preserving the Arab character of the gulf.

One reason for past Saudi and Iranian opposition to transfer of the islands to Kuwait, Iraq would try to acquire and fortify

opposition shared by the United States, was the apprehension that the Soviet Union might acquire air bases there.

Moscow's overtures, however, appear to have been rejected by Baghdad, which with ending its military alliance with the Soviets has welcomed closer economic ties with the West.

Iraq and Iran, which in early March stood on the brink of war, now are promoting cooperation in oil policy between themselves and among other gulf powers, including the United Arab Emirates (UAE).

At Algiers, the Saudis, Iraqis, and Iranians appear to have agreed that each would help build up sufficient combined strength to meet outside intervention by the United States, the Soviets, or anyone else.

Iran's contribution is its huge military buildup. Saudi Arabia is building big new base complexes near the Iraqi border and on the gulf coast near Abu Dhabi.

Iraq would try to acquire and fortify



By John Forbes, staff

Warhah and Bubiyan and strengthen its small Persian Gulf mouth of the formerly disputed Shatt river boundary with Iran.

By Dana Adams Schmidt  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

He is cherubic, mustachioed, American-educated, and so fond of jogging that he even does it on long jet flights.

And his message is plain: Do not heed talk that he says is inspired by Israelis to the effect that oil will not again become a weapon in the struggle between Arabs and Israelis.

Ahmed Zaki Yamani speaks for Saudi Arabia, as the country's minister for petroleum affairs. On his recent visit to Washington, he says he was not taken seriously when he warned of an Arab embargo before the 1973 Mideast war.

Now, he says, an Arab embargo is again possible, and not just if fighting breaks out. It

could come, he says, if Israel annexes the West Bank and the Golan Heights . . . or if Israel refuses to negotiate any further.

common interest the United States has with the Arabs.

But in another war, Saudi action might be more drastic, especially if an attempt were made to put into effect the plan to share oil among the Western nations.

Mr. Yamani does not believe the Japanese would ever go along with such a plan. Yet he fears that the attempt to put it into operation could have effects that would be disastrous to Western civilization.

by the Saudis it would take three to five years to get them back into production.

Other situations short of war that might result in renewed use of the embargo, as Mr. Yamani explained it to American officials, could be outright annexation of the West Bank, and the Golan Heights, or categorical refusal to negotiate.

Mr. Yamani and other Saudis have been systematically spreading this warning not only in Washington but also in the other oil-consuming nations. Observing that there already have been some signs of shifts of opinion among prominent Americans, such as Sen. Charles H. Percy and Sen. George McGovern, he anticipates further shifts resulting from the observations of other American legislators who travel in the Middle East this summer.

# Middle East

## 'Black gold' still a weapon warns Saudi oil minister

By Dana Adams Schmidt  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

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# Canada



'Back-door immigrant' turned back at Montreal airport

## Immigration curb seen likely

Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Ottawa  
Canada is pondering the need for new restrictions on the flow of immigrants to its shores.

Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau's government is increasingly concerned about the country's ability to absorb large numbers of immigrants, particularly in a time of recession.

But the Prime Minister is moving cautiously on the issue. He has published a so-called "green paper" outlining several policy options for the future, but a final decision on immigration limits is months away.

Later this month parliamentary committee will tour the country, holding hearings to gauge public opinion on the sensitive issue. Legislation may not be ready for Parliament until next year.

The policy review became necessary when global inflation, economic stagnation, food shortages, energy problems, population pressures, and other difficulties suddenly made Canada a good place to live.

Last year, 218,000 immigrants were welcomed to Canada — the largest number in seven years. That is a lot of immigrants for a nation of 22.5 million, particularly when the influx is directed toward the largest cities.

By comparison, the United States, with a population roughly 10 times larger, has cut back immigration to 280,000 persons annually since 1965, with a 20,000 ceiling per country.

The green paper's immigration options for Canada are broad. Depending on the Trudeau government's final choice, the country's popu-

lation could range from 28.4 million to 31 million by the year 2001.

While the Canadian economy may have outperformed those of most industrialized nations during the last year, the country, dogged with economic uncertainties, has roused opponents of immigration.

Concern about the country's "absorptive capacity" — the ability to shelter and employ even highly skilled immigrants — is accompanied by a certain amount of racism.

A decade ago, three-quarters of Canadian immigrants were from Europe while 15 percent came from Asia. Last year, only the newcomers were from Europe, a quarter were from Asia.

The increasingly nonwhite component turns some politicians and some government officials, who fear a white backlash against immigration.

During the 1972 election campaign, there was a strong reaction against Mr. Trudeau's decision to admit 5,000 Ugandan Asians who contributed to the Liberal government but its parliamentary majority in the balloting.

The green paper glossed over the growing unease about nonwhite immigrants from a third world, claiming Canadian society has so far displayed "resilience" in handling many foreign immigrants with so little social stress."

For political reasons, the Trudeau government has avoided taking a strong stand on this issue. It seems likely the government will eventually adopt the green-paper option of an annual, global ceiling for the total immigration movement, with priorities for various national groups.

## Canada chooses eager beaver

By Don Sellar  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Ottawa  
The United States pays homage to its symbolic eagle.

Great Britain bows to the lion.

And Canada now embraces an amphibious, broad-tailed, soft-furred rodent — the beaver.

In fact, the Canadian Parliament has enthroned the beaver — Castor canadensis — in law as "a national symbol."

"Fol, the foul Castornappers," urged an Ontario writer.

As cards, letters and petitions began to materialize by the thousands, Sean O'Sullivan, a 33-year-old opposition Progressive Conservative member of Parliament made his move.

He introduced a private member's bill on behalf of the beaver, knowing full well it had no prospect of becoming law without support from the ruling Liberal Party.

The beaver joins the maple leaf and the scarlet-coated Mountie as tokens of Canadian nationhood, although the new law does nothing to protect him from trappers.

Ironically, federal politicians became interested in granting this honor to the beaver only when it appeared the creature was about to be stolen by American legislators.

A bill sponsored by New York Sen. Bernard Smith sought to adopt Castor canadensis as the state's official emblem, partly because it had

appeared on the state's original flag back in the late 1700s.

News of this proposal, together with the revelation that Oregon had adopted the beaver as its official symbol, quickly snowballed into a Canadian political cause célèbre.

"Yankee doodle with your own symbol," one perturbed Western Canadian wrote in reaction to the New York Senator's bill.

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## Annual Meeting Schedule

### MONDAY, JUNE 2

Annual Meeting 2:00 p.m.  
Evening Meeting 7:30 p.m.

### TUESDAY, JUNE 3

Morning Meeting 10:00 a.m.  
Afternoon Meeting 2:00 p.m.  
Evening Meeting 7:30 p.m.

These meetings are open only to members of The Mother Church, The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts. Doors will be open 45 minutes early.

### Registration

Tickets to the meetings will be available as follows:

### SUNDAY, JUNE 1

12 noon to 6:30 p.m. on the plaza near the Church Colonnade

### MONDAY, JUNE 2

8:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. on the plaza near the Church Colonnade, and 1:00 to 7:30 p.m. at John B. Hynes Auditorium

### TUESDAY, JUNE 3

8:30 a.m. to 7:30 p.m. at John B. Hynes Auditorium

### Child care

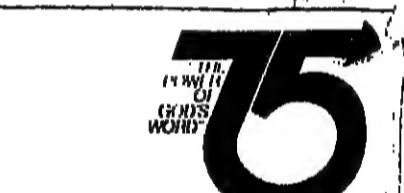
Child-care facilities in John B. Hynes Auditorium, for children up to age 12, will open one hour before Annual Meeting and half an hour before each of the other meetings.

### Accommodations

Hotel space close to The Mother Church is no longer available for this period. For information on hotel space near Boston or dormitory-type housing near The Mother Church, call (617) 262-2300, ext. 2094 or 2095, or write to The First Church of Christ, Scientist, Visitors' Section P33, Christian Science Center, Boston, MA, U.S.A. 02115.



By Gene Langley, staff artist



## Pentagon changes tactics

Shifts emphasis from guerrilla training

By Guy Halverson  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor  
Washington

The United States is shifting strategy on the extent to which this nation should become involved in fighting any future limited "guerrilla" wars.

As the last Americans and as many South Vietnamese as possible are pulled out of Indo-China, the attitude of Pentagon planners is leaning toward staffing of self-sufficient "quick strike" units such as the Rangers and slightly away from groups trained to work with local forces such as the U.S. Special Forces — "Green Berets".

The Vietnamese intervention, it is recalled, started out as a limited action — as Americans sought to aid and train local South Vietnamese forces.

For anxious Defense Department planners, the international problems that in part led to the need for these two units — Rangers and Green Beret — are still much in evidence.

Pentagon officials clearly are troubled about the mounting scale of guerrilla warfare in northern Thailand, and the resulting push

by Thai political and military leaders toward detachment from the U.S.

It also is known that top Pentagon strategists, from Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger down, are concerned about the possibilities of long-range subversion in Indonesia, with its huge Chinese population, as well as the danger of stepped-up military activity on the border between North and South Korea. In the latter case, terrorist bands will attempt penetration (often successfully) across the demilitarized zone between the two Koreas.

But Pentagon "concern," analysts say, no longer means a willingness, nor even legal ability, to help ward off internal subversion in other nations. Hence, it is believed significant that the Pentagon is stepping up somewhat its training of Ranger units, geared for self-sufficient, more conventional warfare, even while somewhat downplaying Special Forces units, at least compared to the 1960s.

There are two Ranger battalions: the First Battalion (Rangers), 75th Infantry, at Ft. Stewart, Georgia, activated in August, 1974, and now at full strength of 580 men; the

Second Battalion (Rangers), 75th Infantry, at Ft. Lewis, Washington, which was activated last fall and is not yet up to strength.

A third battalion now is planned for early 1976. A date for the activation of the unit and its location have not yet been announced.

Throughout the 1960s there were six or seven Ranger companies, but the total number of men was not believed to have been more than 400 at any time. The Pentagon, in fact, has not had Ranger battalions, as now is the case, since Korean war days.

The Rangers, who receive airborne training, are designed to be highly mobile and self-sufficient and are trained for situations ranging from jungle to desert and Arctic warfare. They are, in effect, "quick strike" forces that could, for example, be deployed into the Mideast on short notice.

The Special Forces (Green Berets), by contrast, who numbered upward of 10,000 or even the mid-1960s, now are down to 5,500 men. Left are three Green Beret units in the U.S., plus a Special Forces battalion in West Germany and a second battalion in Panama.

Both the Rangers and Special Forces are volunteer units.

## Jobs vs. inflation

By Harry B. Iltis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor  
Washington

Can the U.S. reduce nationwide unemployment below 8

percent without risking high inflation?

This stark question, implying five million or more Americans continually jobless, is explored by experts, looking beyond the recession toward the problem of "structural unemployment."

"The economy," says labor economist Curtis Gilroy, "because of structural impediments, does not seem to be able to absorb a large and growing labor force."

What impediments? "Technological changes," replies Mr. Gilroy of the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), "educational deficiencies, and rising population," among others.

More than 40 percent of all black teenagers cannot find jobs. For white teenagers, the unemployment rate is 18 percent, reports the BLS, a branch of the U.S. Department of Labor.

More than one million "discouraged workers" have stopped looking for work and no longer are listed as unemployed. If this number is added to the nation's 8.7 percent jobless rate, the number of Americans out of work soars above 9 million.

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By David T. Cook  
Business and financial correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
If you don't earn \$23,300, you can't afford to buy the average new home in the United States, according to a new study — and it will be some time before the situation improves.

The average cost of new homes in 1974 was \$41,300, the study shows.

Only one out of six American families can now afford to purchase the average-priced new home, a recent congressional Joint Economic Committee (JEC) report says.

It would take an annual income of \$23,300 to make all the necessary payments on the average-priced new home, the JEC says. But the average U.S. family's income is only \$12,051, according to the most recent Census Bureau figures.

And existing homes are not that much more affordable. The average price of existing homes sold in 1974 was \$35,500. Only one out of five American families have the \$21,170 annual income it would take to cover the cost of such a home, the committee says.

There is one potential bright spot on the housing scene: housing industry officials say. Because builders have begun constructing some smaller houses with less costly features on smaller lots, "there is a good possibility of the increase in average new home prices may have been arrested already," says Michael Sumichrast, chief economist for the National Association of Home Builders.

If this trend toward construction of more utilitarian homes continues and accelerates, "I wouldn't be surprised" if the average new home price actually declined in 1975, he says.

Last week, as the first, hesitant signs of some industry growth emerged, the Senate passed a bill which would offer 400,000 middle American families a \$1,000 down payment grant or a six-year subsidy on the mortgage interest rates they pay on a newly purchased dwelling.

Under the Senate's interest rate subsidy plan, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) would pay the difference between a 6 percent interest rate and the current prevailing rate in the open market. The subsidy would taper off at the end of a six-year period.

Although the House has passed similar legislation, any homeowners assistance package which emerges from a House-Senate conference is considered a prime candidate for presidential veto. The administration is reported to consider the estimated \$700-million cost of the housing assistance plan "unaffordable."

And even with the limited congressional measure aid now pending, "The relative availability of homes for households in the \$10,000-12,000 income bracket in 1975 is likely to be much more limited than in previous years," the Joint Economic Committee study says.

And this grim forecast would not be changed even if the housing industry's recovery is much more rapid than expected. "Even if housing starts recover to the level of 1972 or even 1973, the price structure will be such as to severely limit the availability of homes to those families with incomes below the national average," the committee continues.

In March, housing starts were at the second lowest on record — an annual rate of 300,000 units. This rate was down 35 percent from a year earlier.



Senator Edward M. Kennedy

By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

## Not every Democrat's No. 1 choice

By Godfrey Sparling Jr.  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
A new Monitor survey of Democratic leaders around the U.S. raises a question about the widely accepted assumption that Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, should he be available, would be a "sure thing" for nomination by his party for president on 1976.

Of 308 state chairmen and national committee surveyed, 118 replied (a very high response in surveys of this type) — and only 31 of them named Senator Kennedy as their first choice.

That represents 26 percent of replies received.

The Senator did outpoll the next most frequently named figure — Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota — by three to one. Senator Humphrey was top choice of 11 leaders. Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter was picked by 8, Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington, by 8, and Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona by 8.

The Senator did not choose Senator Kennedy, and who did write in comments, seemed to concentrate on the Chappaquiddick incident. Sample comments: "He is not electable." "His credibility is gone."

The survey findings put in some doubt the prospect of a draft by the Democratic convention, despite the failure of two-thirds of those surveyed to reply.

**Black Muslims work for a nation within a nation**

By Susan E. Rist  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago  
They refer to themselves as the Nation of Islam.

Theirs is a developing nation, a black nation which their members, Black Muslims, hope to make economically independent of white America.

They are, in the words of one observer, "the only [black] group with an organized economic base really working."

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It is estimated the Nation of Islam has assets between \$60 million and \$80 million and anywhere from 75,000 to 2 million religious followers.

The current recession affects the Nation of Islam, but members still see unlimited opportunity for future economic development.

More than a dozen other figures received less than six votes each.

Clearly, many Democrats simply do not want to express their choice so far ahead of the election. But the 18 who did reply — from big cities and rural areas around the country — did have a chance to confirm the conventional wisdom among political observers that the Democratic convention would almost automatically nominate Senator Kennedy if he were available or draft him.

Instead, only 31 leaders took that opportunity. None of them commented, beyond writing in the Senator's name at the top of their lists. (Leaders were asked to list their choices for the Democratic nomination, in order.)

Those who did not choose Senator Kennedy, and who did write in comments, seemed to concentrate on the Chappaquiddick incident. Sample comments: "He is not electable." "His credibility is gone."

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can do his banking at the Muslim bank; his groceries at the Muslim supermarket; his clothing for himself and his family at Muslim clothing store; buy his bread and at the Muslim bakery.

"Rather than employing other ethnic minorities, through our patronage of them we employ ourselves," the editor said.

Such economic development is not limited to Chicago.

In several metropolitan areas with large black populations — Philadelphia, New York, Atlanta, Los Angeles — there are comparatively high levels of Black Muslim economic productivity, says Mr. Sizemore.

"The Nation of Islam is the only effective mainstream in Newark," said a spokesman for Mayor Kenneth Gibson. "They, by far, own more businesses than any other black organization in the community."

With 20,000 acres of Muslim-owned land under cultivation, the "nation" is moving back to the farm as the basis of its economy and providing much of its own meat, poultry and produce products.

The Black Muslims have adequately demonstrated that a people can be self-sufficient and provide the basic necessities," says Wayman Wright, executive assistant to the president of the National Business League.

A man who gets his paycheck at the Muhammad Speaks newspaper, he explained,

From page 1

## ★ Can votes stop communism: a lesson from Finland and Portugal

Constituent Assembly, in which 92 percent of the registered voted.

In Vietnam, first there was the dictatorship of Ngo Dinh Diem, and then that of a rapid succession of military regimes, culminating in the 10-year rule of Nguyen Van Thieu. His power reposed on the armed forces (which he controlled and manipulated) and on the general belief of the Vietnamese that he enjoyed the wholehearted backing of the United States. He did not fall until these two props were withdrawn, and by then it was too late to save the South.

Several times in Vietnam there was popular enthusiasm for elections, but each time it was demonstrated that the voters had been tampered with. Today as the South Vietnamese go under Communist rule, the only comparison they can make is between two kinds of authoritarian rule, the only difference being that one kind was less efficient and more arbitrary, with more loopholes for individual freedom. That is not sufficient motivation to fight and to win a cruel war.

Neveretheless, the voting itself was demonstrably free, and the results a victory for the non-Communist parties, whether Socialist or further to the right. Communists and Socialists — are marching together in May Day parades; but the Socialists — who won 38 percent of the poll — are conscious of their strength, and their leader, Mario Soares, has openly twisted the Communists for centralism without democracy.

Like the Vietnamese, the Finns have a reputation for political quarrelsome. They have had parties galore, sometimes official or private, as to what went wrong. But Finland shows that a democratic nation can survive, even without external military aid and with a communist superpower as a neighbor, if it maintains unity, self-reliance, and the skill to play whatever few cards it may hold. And Portugal confirms democracy's age-old lesson, that there is no substitute for free elections.

terms they could long before they were physically defeated.

A Vietnamese friend, a high-ranking diplomat, was interested in the example of Finland and thought it could be made relevant to that of his own country. But neither he, nor most of his friends, could really face up to the fact that when the crunch came, it was not their capacity to influence the White House, or Congress, or the Pentagon, that would win the war. It was what they could do when they knew they stood absolutely alone, as Finland had from 1939 to 1940 and again in 1944.

Knowing this does not diminish the tragedy of South Vietnam, nor lessen the self-searching going on in American thinking, whether official or private, as to what went wrong. But Finland shows that a democratic nation can survive, even without external military aid and with a communist superpower as a neighbor, if it maintains unity, self-reliance, and the skill to play whatever few cards it may hold. And Portugal confirms democracy's age-old lesson, that there is no substitute for free elections.

From page 1

## ★ World sends relief to Vietnam

Lowry of the Church World Service, two tons of medical supplies, milk, food, and clothes are being readied in Europe for shipment to the communist-occupied territories in South Vietnam.

A major concern of the relief agencies has been their inability to establish direct contact with their teams of workers in the occupied areas. Some agencies have managed to communicate indirectly with their people via France and the Soviet Union.

Until now, Hanol has refused to accept relief workers on a residency basis, but its recognition of the Red Cross workers this week may signal a new readiness to accept the relief workers as residents.

Without communication with their field workers though, relief-agency officials complain they are severely hampered in their efforts to pinpoint the greatest needs.

Most relief agencies and church groups also are assisting in the evacuation of refugees out of Vietnam. The U.S. State Department has asked the YMCA to help resettle refugees, and YMCA camps and hostels are being readied to receive the fleeing Vietnamese.

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, in his April 30 news briefing, said: "We would certainly look at particular, specific humanitarian requests that can be carried out by humanitarian agencies."

He added that "we do believe that the primary responsibility should fall on those who supplied the weapons for this political change" — a reference to the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

A bill approved a week ago by the Senate providing humanitarian and evacuation funds for South Vietnam now lies in limbo in the House, with Congress now considering it overrun by events.

Senator Case has introduced the \$50 million Cambodian aid proposal as a separate measure; it is expected to have no difficulty passing the Senate once voting begins, although the House future is cloudy.

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# Asia

## Indian life rampant with corruption

By Eric Bourne  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

New Delhi  
Corruption weighs as heavily on the public mind as India's perennial threats to domestic calm — poverty and hunger.

Almost everyone has a tale of the most trivial things unsalvageable without appropriate bribe or pull. There are the graver cases allegedly involving Congress politicians and government officials.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi steadfastly rejects calls for full-scale judicial inquiry. She accuses the opposition of exaggerating for political ends and refusing to discuss real issues.

"For 18 months, though, we have tried, we have had hardly any dialogue on serious problems," she said recently.

But corruption is real enough and a major source of the growing support for the first serious political challenge to Mrs. Gandhi's prestige and authority since her 1971 election triumph.

This is the grass-roots movement inspired by Jayaprakash Narayan, JP as invariably he is known, the veteran Gandhian figure whose integrity is acknowledged even by those who either do not subscribe to his views or think his mass-agitation methods mistaken.

His protest movement, with its charter for cleaning up Indian public life and ameliorating poverty, has moved well beyond his own unhappy state of Bihar whose landless laborers and frustrated students flocked to his platform.

Support has spread since among educated, professional, and middle classes rendered apathetic, cynical, and bewildered by the drift, and, on the hand, by the central government's apparent inability to overcome obstruction to such badly needed things as land reform and, on the other, its increasingly arbitrary attitudes toward criticism.

Mrs. Gandhi's use of the term "fascist" against JP shocked many, even of her own followers. To those who urged dialogue rather than confrontation, she retorted, "Dialogue with whom?"

There is growing anxiety over what people see as the administration's tendencies toward authoritarian rule. Its use of "emergency" powers to remove, awkward people in state assemblies and municipal leadership, and a subtle bearing down on critical newspapers and journalists.

The controversial and still contested dismissal of the editor of the prestigious Hindu Times, B. G. Verghese, raised serious questions about press freedom. Mr. Verghese, previously Mrs. Gandhi's public-relations adviser, had criticized severely the "failure of leadership" despite the unqualified mandate the country had given in 1971. A few months later, he was under notice.

## Indonesians to swoop on East Timor?

Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Portuguese East Timor, which has been under Indonesian control since 1975, is thought that radical trends in Portugal could bring disruption to its shores through the Portuguese colony of East Timor.

President Suharto has said categorically that Indonesia will not take over the territory by force. But at the same time, there is an almost universal feeling in Jakarta within the government and the military that Indonesia is going to have East Timor — by peaceful means preferably, but by sending in troops if necessary.

East Timor occupies half an island about the size of Taiwan in the Indonesian archipelago. It has been a focus of Jakarta's political attention since the dissolution of Portugal's old colonial empire was set in motion a year ago by the military coup in Lisbon.

President Suharto is reported to have sent his top diplomatic trouble-shooter and trusted aide Ali Murtiopo twice in the past few months to sound out Lisbon's new rulers on their intentions toward East Timor. Mr. Murtiopo is said to be Indonesia's "project officer" for acquisition of the territory.

Meanwhile, the Indonesian Army has been preparing for a possible role — enough to



T. S. Nayan  
India: journeying through a dark tunnel of poverty and graft

It is easy to sense the diminished rapport between the government and the people who gave that mandate. Looking back on the national mood of revival sparked first by the election and heightened by Bangladesh and the securing of India's "interests" on the subcontinent, an editor remarks to this writer:

"Mrs. Gandhi's use of the term 'fascist' against JP shocked many, even of her own followers. To those who urged dialogue rather than confrontation, she retorted, 'Dialogue with whom?'

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Mr. Narayan leads no party and disdains

alarm some Australian observers that its recent training maneuvers could lead to a military confrontation with Portugal.

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Otherwise, say the Indonesians, East Timor would be left open to become a base of the "sensitive situation." But according to recent visitors returning from Koepang, the capital city, the radio propaganda beamed out of there has taken on a threatening and accusatory tone towards the new leftist leadership in Portuguese Timor.

Foreign journalists are currently barred from the Indonesian half of Timor because of the "sensitive situation." But according to recent visitors returning from Koepang, the capital city, the radio propaganda beamed out of there has taken on a threatening and accusatory tone towards the new leftist leadership in Portuguese Timor.

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## They're wild about Kim

By John Burns  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor  
1975 Toronto Globe and Mail

He is bespectacled and rotund, he stepped onto the platform at Peking's station he received a frenzied, hysterical welcome from the ranks of patriots that brought to mind the reception a superstar of sports or rock expect elsewhere.

Hundreds of men punched the air, fist and rhythmically chanted his name. Dressed children shrieked with delight, waving their paper flowers. tiny middle-aged woman in traditional scurried forward to present a bouquet, burst into tears of joy and collapse in arms of those closest to her as she fond.

That is the impression of Belgian Prime Minister Leo Tindemans, who visited Peking recently.

Mr. Tindemans discussed relations between Peking and Washington during lengthy sessions with Vice Premier Chi Teng-kuo and Foreign Minister Chien Kuan-hua. He also met briefly with Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Peking.

Belgian sources say that the Chinese leaders spoke of the Defense Secretary as having "a good view of the world."

Although President Ford is scheduled to visit here later this year, Chinese officials have been telling visitors for some time that Peking is not satisfied with the progress in relations between the two countries. The essence of their complaints is that Washington has not fulfilled its commitments under the Shanghai communiqué. In the communiqué

Peking's favorable appraisal of Mr. Schlesinger has been reflected in the number of articles appearing in the Chinese press since the beginning of the year that have cited the Defense Secretary's views.

The press reports have focused on his repeated warnings about the Soviet military buildup and the need for the U.S. to increase its own expenditures to keep pace. They also have reported favorably his insistence that U.S. troops strengths be maintained in Western Europe and noted his observation in hearings before the Senate Armed Services Committee that the U.S. has vital security interests in Europe, the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, and Asia.

Since Japan continues to maintain a trade office in Taiwan that is staffed by Foreign Ministry officials, the implication is that Peking would tolerate a continued U.S. diplomatic presence on the island so long as diplomatic relations were formally suspended. This would allow for the liaison office Washington maintains in Peking to be swapped with the embassy in Taipei, as U.S. Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D) of Washington has advocated, but the problem of the security treaty would remain.

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# Asia

## China-U.S. relations after Vietnam

By John Burns  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor  
1975 Toronto Globe and Mail

Peking leaders are tempering their joy at the turn of events in Indo-China with the realization that communist triumphs in Cambodia and Vietnam pose new problems for Chinese foreign policy.

These may prove as vexing as the now-ending American role in Indo-China, in the view of diplomats here.

The most obvious complication arising from the collapse of America's Indo-China allies, though not necessarily the most worrisome, is in Peking's own relations with Washington.

In recent months Chinese leaders have made no secret of their hope that President Ford's visit here later this year will be the occasion for the rupture of Washington's diplomatic and military ties with Taiwan and, by extension, the moment for the establishment of diplomatic relations with Peking.

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## Peking praises U.S. Defense Secretary for warning of Soviet military buildup

By John Burns  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor  
1975 Toronto Globe and Mail

He is bespectacled and rotund, he stepped onto the platform at Peking's station he received a frenzied, hysterical welcome from the ranks of patriots that brought to mind the reception a superstar of sports or rock expect elsewhere.

Hundreds of men punched the air, fist and rhythmically chanted his name. Dressed children shrieked with delight, waving their paper flowers. tiny middle-aged woman in traditional scurried forward to present a bouquet, burst into tears of joy and collapse in arms of those closest to her as she fond.

That is the impression of Belgian Prime Minister Leo Tindemans, who visited Peking recently.

Mr. Tindemans discussed relations between Peking and Washington during lengthy sessions with Vice Premier Chi Teng-kuo and Foreign Minister Chien Kuan-hua. He also met briefly with Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Peking.

Belgian sources say that the Chinese leaders spoke of the Defense Secretary as having "a good view of the world."

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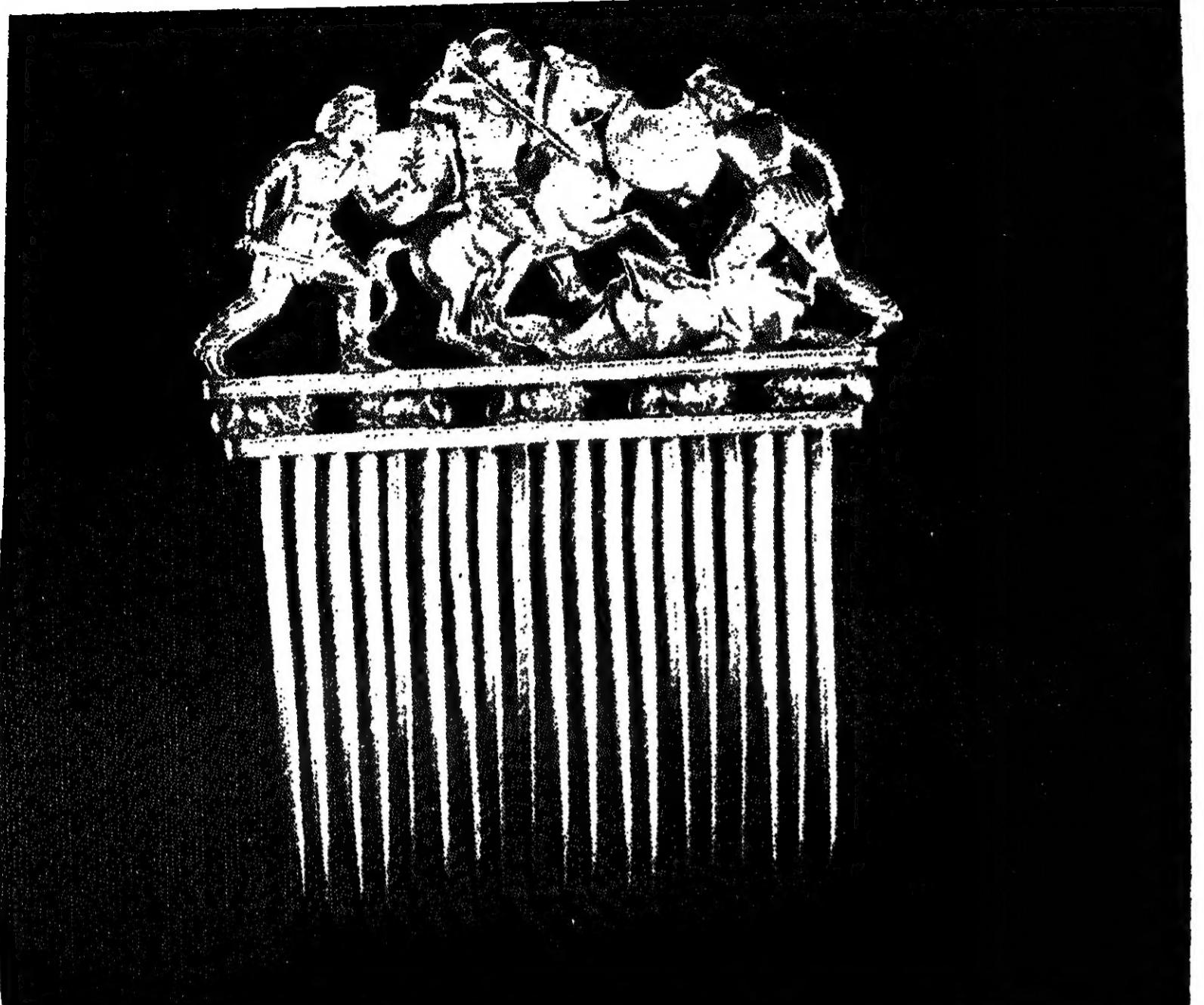
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Metropolitan Museum of Art photo  
Battle scene portrayed with arresting vigor atop gold comb, fashioned by a Greek goldsmith in the 4th century B.C.

Mountain goat adorns bronze finial



Delicate openwork helmet

Kiev Pectoral depicts Scythian life

# Treasures of the barbarians

## Scythian art comes to America

The Soviet Ministry of Culture has lent New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art a priceless collection of golden objects that adorned the fierce nomads who rode out of Central Asia on their nimble ponies to found an empire by the Black Sea.

By Diana Loecher  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Why this action?  
I How solemn.  
Why are bearing quickly,  
And all return in thought?

Because barbarians have not  
come.  
Some people are,  
And they no longer any  
barbarians

And now visit without any  
barbarians.  
These people

From "Exposition of Scythian P. Caval-  
city from 'The' Translated by  
John Davison, New

New York  
There are no  
the East to be  
plundered. But  
conquered were  
absorbed by  
in the history of  
these barbarians  
culture. Illiter-  
ate to survive and  
were nomads  
divinely primitive  
were long con-  
cerned.

The electrifying  
display of the  
exhibition of  
to realize that beauty  
Metropolitan  
and excellence in  
them gold, make

Some 170 objects  
from an extraordinary  
Land of the 6th-5th  
museums of excavated ancient  
great bulk works of barbarian  
civilization, west of the Altai  
who roamed to the Black Sea  
Mountains, deserts and the  
in the 6th-5th  
Scythian art. The exhibit title is  
century to the  
Metropolitan, ex-  
inaccurate.

Thomas Hoving  
explained that it is anywhere else  
"First of all, it is what the  
in the Sovietland archae-  
Russia's country is extraordinary."  
Russia's country is particularly the so-  
called "land of art."  
barbarian into foot, one could

As Mr. Hoving says in his eyes,  
the fact that  
almost destroyed them Scythian  
And one can hardly believe Scythian

"The Scythians indeed have in one respect, and  
that the very most important of all those that fall  
under man's control, shown themselves wiser than  
any nation upon the face of the earth. Their  
customs otherwise are not such as I admire. The  
one thing of which I speak, is the contrivance  
whereby they make it impossible for the enemy  
who invades them to escape destruction, while they  
themselves are entirely out of reach, unless it

treasures outside the Soviet Union or anywhere near this scale.

The exhibition is the fruit of five years of delicate, complicated negotiations between the Metropolitan and the Soviet Ministry of Culture. It follows from the cultural exchange agreement signed in 1973 by the United States and the Soviet Union. The Russians initially wanted to send over a survey of Russian art but reluctantly gave way to the intractable Mr. Hoving's insistence upon the Scythian treasures, first collected by Peter the Great.

Most of the major objects in this exhibition are borrowed from the State Hermitage Museum in Leningrad, which owns Peter the Great's Siberian collection, and the State Historical Museum in Kiev. The Russians, for their part, handpicked 100 American and European "masterpieces" from the Metropolitan.

This exchange and another exchange of icons and 19th-century Russian paintings for pre-Columbian gold and primitive art scheduled for 1976 were cited in the joint communiqué signed by former President Richard M. Nixon and party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev in 1974.

The Scythian exhibition thus heralds the most important art exchange ever to take place between the two countries. It is an event of political as well as artistic significance.

The novice can appreciate Scythian art. But to understand it, one must first know something of the Scythians. Because they had no written language, they left no record of their history. The only detailed source of information is given by the ancient Greek historian Herodotus in Book IV of "The Persian Wars."

Herodotus was acquainted with the Scythians because the Greeks and the Scythians shared a border and traded together. In fact, Greek craftsmen made for the Scythians many of their most beautiful gold objects in return for produce.

Herodotus's description of the Scythians, which is the earliest known study of an uncontacted people, falls into his account of Darius's campaign against them in 512 B.C. Herodotus, a man of erudition and refinement, was also something of a snob, and a thinly veiled contempt filters through his discussion of the origins and practices of the Scythians. He does, however, give them credit for one thing:

"The Scythians indeed have in one respect, and that the very most important of all those that fall under man's control, shown themselves wiser than any nation upon the face of the earth. Their customs otherwise are not such as I admire. The one thing of which I speak, is the contrivance whereby they make it impossible for the enemy who invades them to escape destruction, while they themselves are entirely out of reach, unless it

please them to engage with him. Having neither cities nor fortifications, and carrying their dwellings with them, wherever they go; accustomed, moreover, one and all of them to shoot from horseback; and living not by husbandry but on their cattle, their wagons [sic] the only houses that they possess, how can they fail of being unconquerable, and invincible even?"

They used their nomadic tactics against Darius who, frustrated in vain chase, sent a message to the "strange man" asking him why he didn't surrender or stand and fight. The Scythian king replied cogently: "This is my way, Persian. I never fear men or fly from them. I have not done so in times past, nor do I now fly from you. There is nothing strange in what I do; I only follow my common mode of life in peaceful years." He adds disdainfully that he sees no reason to be bothered with fighting the Persians and closes with the memorable insult, "Go howl."

Herodotus also records that the Scythians hate foreign customs and baths, and he expands further upon their customs that "are not such as I admire." The military success of the Scythians, which gave them dominion over the Near East for 28 years during the late 7th century B.C., was doubtless due in part to their ruthless efficiency.

The Greek historian also described the funeral of a Scythian king, noting that "in the open space around the body of the king they bury one of his concubines, first killing her by strangling, and also his cupbearer, his cook, his grob, his lackey, his messenger, some of his horses, firstlings of all his other possessions, and some golden cups; for they use neither silver nor brass. After this they set to work, and raise a vast mound above the grave, all of them lying with each other and seeking to make it as tall as possible."

The next year, Herodotus adds, 50 attendants and 50 horses are killed and ranged in a circle around the tomb.

The Scythians worshipped a number of Greek gods, to whom they made animal sacrifices. Most frequently, their precious horses, their cattle, and occasionally their human sacrifices. Animals were vital to the Scythian way of life. Because they were a nomadic rather than an agricultural people, they relied on the horse for mobility and other animals for food. Helmut Nickel, curator of arms and armor at the Metropolitan, describes the Scythians in a catalog essay called "The Dawn of Chivalry" as "the forerunner of excellence of classical antiquity," progenitors of medieval knights.

Not surprisingly, animals became the subject of their art. The Royal Scythians, whom Herodotus described as "the largest and bravest of the Scythian tribes," used their sacred gold to fashion potent images of single wild animals with their most powerful attributes exaggerated. The style reflects Near Eastern influences, but it is almost Cubist in its exaggeration of planes. The panther and stag on display in this show possess a muscular tension and vitality that imbue them with totemic significance. The Scythians may have believed that they gained power over these animals by wearing or carrying these amulets as plaques, finials, and body ornaments.

The objects made by the Greeks are much more elaborate and humanistic. Because the Greeks made them for the Scythians to use in their daily lives and carry with them to their graves, the imagery is still basically Scythian but the style is more classical and refined. The relief sculpture in such marvels as the ornate comb, the famous "Kiev Pectoral," found near Ordzhonikidze in 1971, the libation bowls, the helmet, and the vases are wondrously subtle, precise, and graceful but lack the raw drama of Scythian workmanship.

Besides the Greek and Scythian gold, which is the highlight of the show, there are innumerable fascinating artifacts of wood, felt, horn, bronze, and other metals made not only by Greeks and Scythians but also by nomadic peoples from Kuban and Urartu in southern Russia, who influenced them.

The Scythians who inhabited the region near the Altai Mountains left behind a particularly impressive legacy of kurgans, tombs covered by stone mounds, which froze and miraculously preserved some 5,000 objects of wood, felt, leather, metal, and fur dating from the 6th to the 4th centuries B.C. Only chieftains and their retainers were interred in these barrows and their contents reveal much about the life of the Scythian nobility. The wood carvings of birds, animals, and mythical creatures on display in this exhibition often decorated the equipment of horses. Their design is both lyrical and dynamic, evocative of the art of the Pacific Northwest Indians. The textiles, richly colored and elaborately patterned, suggest Chinese and Persian influences.

The exhibition is artfully designed by Stuart Silver to minimize fatigue, congestion, and confusion. It is supplemented by educational material—maps, charts, photographic blow-ups, and colorful quotes from Herodotus. A tape-slide kit with a lecture by Mr. Hoving is on sale for \$9.95.

Funded in part by a \$305,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, "From the Land of the Scythians" will be on view at the Metropolitan through June 23. It will then travel to the Los Angeles County Museum, the Louvre, and the Pushkin Museum in Moscow.



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Yosemite Valley, California: America is rich in beauty spots reachable without a car

By Gordon N. Converse, chairman

By Leavitt F. Morris  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

One of the most relaxing and rewarding ways to see the U.S.A. is to take advantage of the transcontinental tours offered by Amtrak, Greyhound, and Continental Trailways.

These carriers have put together a series of comprehensive cross-country trips enabling travelers to view scenic splendors, historical landmarks, and recreational areas "from sea to shining sea." These range in length from 25 to 31 days.

A wide variety of shorter tours also has been scheduled. Some are escorted, while others may be taken independently. In each case, emphasis is placed on showing the most points of interest in a minimum of time.

A transcontinental trip by bus or train may be especially appealing to visitors from outside the United States. Such a trip would eliminate the stress of coping with a foreign car and traffic regulations, while allowing the visitor to "meet the people" effortlessly.

Amtrak and Greyhound offer special discounts to overseas visitors.

Amtrak's Amerail ticket entitles the holder to a 25 percent discount on all trains but the Metroliners. (U.S. citizens residing in foreign countries do not qualify for the Amerail discount, nor do permanent residents of Canada, Mexico, Puerto Rico, the U.S. Virgin Islands, the Canal Zone, American Samoa, or Guam.)

Amerail discount tickets must be acquired during the overseas visitor's first 90 days in the United States. Once purchased, they are good for the subsequent 90 days. Tickets must be bought from a ticket agent; they may not be obtained from travel agents.

If the overseas visitor knows in advance what trains he wishes to take, he may buy a "prepaid exchange order" in his own country. This can be exchanged for a ticket on his arrival in the United States. Amtrak offices are located in the United Kingdom, Norway, Finland, France, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. In countries where there is no Amtrak office, the U.S. Travel Service can often sell the exchange orders.

Amtrak has drastically revised its 1975 edition of "European-oriented Visit U.S.A." Tours in response to visitors' requests for more time in Florida's Disney World. All but one of Amtrak's Visit U.S.A. Tours now offer visits either to Walt Disney World in Florida or Disneyland in California.

The tours range from the seven-day "Mid-westerner," which costs \$200, to a \$390 13-day "Westerner." (Prices already include the 25 percent Amerail discount.)

Comparable to the Eurailpass enjoyed by

## New train, bus tours: an easy way to see U.S.

Americans in Europe is Greyhound's 15-day Ameripass for non-U.S. citizens. It costs \$125 and must be bought outside of the United States. The company also offers an attractively priced Ameripass which is available to anyone. The cost is \$175 for one month; \$250 for two months. Greyhound has 100,000 miles of routes in the United States and Canada.

Ameripass not only enables the holder to go almost anywhere, anytime, but entitles him to many bonuses in discounts at hotels, restaurants, car rentals and sight-seeing tours.

Continental Trailways provides no discounts for overseas visitors. But the bus company's Eaglepass excursion ticket is economically priced. The 16-day ticket costs \$87.50; the 30-day and two-month Eaglepasses are \$165 and \$220 respectively. All are for unlimited travel over the company's far-flung routes. (Beginning July 1, the 30-day ticket will be increased to \$175 and the two-month pass to \$250.)

Greyhound's 31-day All America Circle Tour operates all year. It also originates in New York City and wends its way westward through the heartland of the United States. The trip includes such places as Niagara Falls, Chicago, the Continental Divide, San Francisco, Yosemite National Park, Los Angeles, and Disneyland.

For those interested in visiting observances in the Eastern U.S., Greyhound, and Trailways have a series of tours to Virginia, Washington, Pennsylvania, and New England.

On the eastbound journey, the tour crosses

Winds Travel. Twelve departure dates are scheduled: May 25, June 8, 22, weekly thereafter through Aug. 24, and Sept. 7. All trains depart from New York.

Highlights of the tour include the Grand Canyon, Hollywood, Disneyland, San Francisco, the Space Needle at Seattle, Canada's Victoria and Vancouver, the Columbia Icefields, Banff and Lake Louise, and Glacier National Park.

The cost for two, sharing a room with private bath in hotels or roomettes (including 17 nights in luxury resorts and hotels, sight-seeing, 53 meals, most tips, and transfers), is \$2,085 per person. These rates are effective from May 25 to Sept. 21.

Cost of the tour in standard hotel accommodations for a double room is \$1,000, or for first class. The price of economy and sight-seeing in the city from which the tour begins is not included in the cost.

Continental Trailways offers a transcontinental trip called "Gold of the Golden West," a 30-day tour which leaves from Boston. The tour through Pennsylvania en route to the West with its impressive Gateway to the West attractions included on the tour. Petrified Forest, Grand Canyon, Las Vegas, Yosemite National Park, Disneyland, the Grand Canyon, the Grand Teton, Yellowstone National Park, and Denver, the tour ends.

Cost of the tour is \$1,075.25 for \$1,300.75 for a single or \$1,000 for a double.

For those interested in visiting observances in the Eastern U.S., Greyhound, and Trailways have a series of tours to Virginia, Washington, Pennsylvania, and New England.

For exchange rates see page 12.

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# financial

## Gold that will not crinkle

By Harry B. Ellis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
"Paper gold" has come a long way since that day in Stockholm in 1968 when most people wondered what in the world it was.

Finance ministers of the world's leading industrial powers, meeting in Sweden, had just agreed to bolster the international monetary system by creating a new reserve asset, paper gold — or special drawing rights (SDRs).

Could one crinkle them in the hand like dollar bills, or clink them together, like silver German marks or Saudi riyals? No, one could not, because they did not — and do not — exist as commercial money.

Yet now, seven years later, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, and Greece, with other powers to follow, have just unlinked their currencies from the U.S. dollar and from now on will measure their value in terms of SDRs.

How come? How does something, non-existent in a tangible form, grow to become the world's standard of monetary value?

SDRs are bookkeeping entries on the accounts of member nations of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that allow each member government to borrow specified amounts of various national currencies, or "real" money.

It all stems, experts explain, from the steady slippage of the dollar — the solid anchor of the postwar Bretton Woods monetary system — to the point that foreign governments no longer trust the stability of the once all-mighty dollar.

So they look for something more stable and find the SDRs, defined by the IMF as the market value of a "basket" of 16 major world currencies.

Simply put, a single currency, like the dollar or British pound, can fluctuate erratically. So, if a nation pegs the value of its own

money to the dollar, that country never knows, from one day to the next, what its money may be worth on international exchanges.

But the composite value of 16 currencies, including, in addition to the dollar, such stalwarts as the West German mark and Swiss franc, is much steadier, providing a reliable "peg" for other monies, like the Saudi riyal or Kuwaiti dinar. Hence the march away from the dollar as a standard of value and toward the SDRs.

In 1969, when the IMF formally created SDRs, the dollar still had a par value of \$35 to a fine ounce of gold. It was, in other words, the centerpiece of the world's monetary system. So an SDR was defined as equal to one dollar, or an ounce of gold.

This became progressively meaningless, however, after the U.S. ended the convertibility of dollars into gold and twice devalued the dollar. Since those devaluations, totaling 12 percent, the U.S. currency has slipped further, standing today about 20 percent less in value, in terms of other world monies, than in 1970.

Beginning July 1, 1974, therefore, the IMF began to define the SDR in terms of the composite value, computed daily, of the "basket" of 16 currencies. By that measurement, one SDR now equals about \$1.25.

World oil prices are denominated in dollars. As the dollar slips in value, oil-producing states — paid in dollars — are able to buy fewer goods for their dollars. Their first step has been to stop measuring the value of their own currencies in terms of dollars.

Next step? Possibly to denominate the price of oil in terms of SDRs. This would boost the price of oil for those who pay in dollars, should the dollar continue to slip in value against the once all-mighty dollar.

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Meanwhile, if all this makes SDRs sound like a good bet to carry overseas on your next trip, forget it.

Your bank doesn't have them.

## German workers fight for their jobs

By David Mutch  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Neckarsulm, Germany  
The two men picked up the large piece of metal, stepped toward the assembly line, and pushed it soberly up on top of the auto body that was creeping along.

Soon sparks shot out as the welding torches fused the root piece to the body.

All through the Audi-NSU plants assembly building the work seemed to be done with a sense of grim finality. The day before this reporter's visit, the men and women had learned that half of them would soon lose their jobs. Many are specialists who have been with the company 20 years or more.

"Now each one of the 10,000 workers asks himself, am I one?" a union official said.

Volkswagen is laying off or retiring 25,200 workers over the next 18 months in 8 plants to remedy severe overcapacity.

The plant here would have been closed entirely if the supervisory board of financially strapped VW had been able to carry out its initial plan of 150 redundancies.

Indeed, in an unprecedented 10-week struggle in which the workers turned to street demonstrations, to leading politicians, and through the media to the whole public, the VW management had been forced to spare at least part of the Audi-NSU, but perhaps even that for a while.

"We had no other possibility but to go to the public," one worker said. Within five days after the struggle began, nearly 100,000 signatures had been gathered. Wives stood out in market squares with petitions in this small town of 22,000 and in nearby Heilbronn. There were strikes.

The plant is located in an industrial area of 35,000 workers where already 5 percent of them are without jobs.

Union leaders say only a partial and tenuous success has been won so far.

The workers, obviously feel their fight is just. In interviews, several labor leaders and workers made these points:

Audi-NSU is a profitable segment of VW. • When VW acquired it in 1968, assurances were made that jobs would be maintained.

VW bought the firm to replace its own poorly-selling models with successful Audi-NSU ones.

In serious financial trouble, VW unwisely expanded too much and became 70 percent dependent on exports.

None of these assertions are denied by VW management. In fact they have been stated publicly by the firm. The difference between management and labor is how to solve the problem and whether it would be "just" to close Audi-NSU.

Toni Schmeckers, new chief of VW, recently said that from a pure business point of view the firm would close the Audi-NSU plant but that for social reasons they chose not to.

### EXCHANGE RATES

#### DOLLARS

Argentine peso	.102
Australian dollar	1.350
Austrian schilling	.091
Belgian franc	.024
Brazilian cruzeiro	.137
British pound	2.347
Canadian dollar	.983
Colombian peso	.036
Danish krone	.181
Dutch guilder	.240
Hong Kong dollar	.411
Israeli pound	.205
Italian lire	.180
Japanese yen	.001
Mexican peso	.003
Norwegian krone	.080
Portuguese escudo	.209
South African rand	.040
Spanish peseta	1.477
Swedish krone	.017
Swiss franc	.251
Venezuelan bolivar	.390
Wi German deutschemark	.234
	.416



New 'Baby Cad' vies with Mercedes in luxury market

## A small answer to the Rolls

By Charles E. Dole  
Automotive editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor  
Milford, Michigan

The most-talked-about new car in a decade is a no-show.

Only the larger Cadillac dealerships will unveil the much-vaunted Mercedes-fighting Seville on "Announcement Day." That day, May 1, will catch some of the midsize dealers, and probably all of the small-volume car outlets, without a "baby Cad," or as GM prefers to call it, the international-size car, in the window.

A Hawaii dealer told me he expects only one Seville for the entire state — at least for a few weeks.

So far Cadillac has only built about 1,500 of the high-priced (\$12,479 base price) alternative to luxury imports, but GM's prestige car division expects to build and ship some 20,000 by the end of the summer. It looks for 60,000 in the '76 model year.

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Wheel base is 114.3 inches the longer than the compact Chevrolet four inches more than the Ford Fairlane Monarch. Fuel economy in the Environmental Protection Agency 19 miles per gallon, about 20 percent than the standard full-size Cadillac.

In keeping with a high-priced top Seville drips with luxury and all standard items is long. Still, there are options available, such as leather upholstery.

To counter the small-size Cadillac, it is offering a high-luxury Grand Monarch Mercury and priced some \$4,000 less. Seville, the highest-priced domestic side of limousines. Chrysler is coming with its own top-line compact in addition to the Mercedes tradition, which

GM is counting heavily on Seville to halt the gradual erosion of its market. Mercedes and to boost its bulky earnings.

Who will buy the Seville? "I don't know," says the sports-car buff. "I think we'll see the sports-car buyers." Fuller, of Boston, owner of the largest Oldsmobile dealership in the nation, thinks we'll get a lot of people who are American luxury car with the available American parts and service."

Many dealers express annoyance at the Seville's entry into the market. "I feel delay in bringing out the car," says Fuller. "But one facet of the new Seville is the annoyance level of most drivers.

If a front-seat occupant fails to fasten his seat belt, he isn't jolted into a raucous buzz under the dash. His pleasant-sounding chime reminds him to buckle up.

But the inside, however, is far less spacious than the full-size Cadillac. The Seville weighs 4,340 pounds, half ton lighter than the Sedan de Ville and just slightly under that of the full-size Chevrolet Impala.

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# The Home Forum

Monday, May 5, 1975

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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"Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's Garden": Oil on canvas by John Constable (1776-1837)

## Journey towards light

The sky stands over England like the shadow of light itself, always moving, always lovely. Some English people hardly notice it; they yearn for the hard blue glory which looks like the Mediterranean. Yet their own sky is among the supreme beauties of Europe.

Constable, painting in the early 1800s, must have felt the sky as drama: his landscapes can seem like stage sets for the platinum passions of the high air. But what a stage! What sets!

Salisbury Cathedral stands huge, precise, below the tallest spire in England. Its verticals and horizontals murmur peace and stability. Yet somehow — perhaps because we live in the age of rocket launchings — the ancient steeple appears to be springing straight up out of the earth into and beyond the atmosphere. Is that how church spires symbolize the leap of faith? — not as a blind plunge in the dark but as a soaring stillness?

This spire is at the picture's core.

In classical landscape design, a small human figure may be used to balance a large mass of anything else. That is because humankind automatically focuses on the human; we weight it with our interest. Here the Georgian lady and gentleman vividly the shadow that broods over them, and counterbalance the trees, the cattle, the cathedral itself — even the sky.

The figures, having captured our attention, redirect it to the spire.

In a degree, Constable learned about painting from painters, professional and amateur. He attended the Royal Academy school, was befriended by Benjamin West (that generous American) and was inspired — as Turner was — by landscapes of Rembrandt and Rubens. He also studied other masters: Ruisdael, Claude, Richard Wilson, Gainsborough, Girtin, Reynolds, learning from paint what words had not taught him.

Eventually his greatest teacher was na-

ture itself, which he observed and recorded almost as if it were a tangible pronouncement of Deity. This approach led to painterly invocations which earned him honors in France five years before his greatness was officially recognized in England. He had struck an early blow in the battle of light — a battle which the Impressionists would fight recklessly two generations later.

It has been said that Constable is Wordsworth translated into paint. This is neat, but unfair. Both men loved the English countryside; both reported on it with genius; and some of the artist's finished pictures do fit Wordsworth's derivation of poetry: "from emotion recollected in tranquillity." (Constable's preliminary sketches could be intensely emotional.) Yet he was no translation but an original — unique, dedicated to his own deepening vision, a princely figure in the landscape of Western art.

Ned Millar

### Man's greatest tests in life

Man's nature spurs his drive for aspiration,  
He reaches for the fruit of golden touch.  
In his Creator's might, his own elevation,  
Man is determined to accomplish much.

Yet greatest of the tests in life he faces  
Is that of leaving love for self behind.  
Far nobler is the pattern man's life traces  
That makes him friend and brother of mankind.

From "Gedanken," of Goethe's works, the Weimar Edition, Vol. 16, published by Hermann Bochau 1894

Translation by Lydia Regehr

## The poet

I think that living in the country, for all their sentimental denials, is something which is held in contempt by most people today. They believe that one has opted out of a concern for all kinds of problems. The country is where one doesn't get on. But if I was interested in getting on, as it is called, I wouldn't be a poet. Writing poetry is a way of life. Money is necessary for this way of life, of course, but it has to be earned in some way which doesn't injure the poetry. This is the most important thing. I think a poet should have a job which he likes. He will be a better poet if he isn't nagged by unsatisfactory work. The work I happened to have is cultivating the land, raising plants, eating my own vegetables and fruit. So much of poetry is oblation and the putting of the seed into the ground is also a religious rite — perhaps the oldest religious rite that there is. Like the rest of the villagers, I grow not only for myself but to give away. This is important. All country gardeners do this...

I am now at home here. I know everybody and everybody knows me. Words have meaning for me here. I am lucky, I came here to get better but I have in fact been re-born. I have escaped into reality. There are no nameless faces; I am identified and I identify. All is seen. Although you may not be capable of loving your neighbour as yourself, you can at least know him nearly as well as you know yourself.

Time in the village is quite different from time in the town. You enter time when you enter a town — you rush through it. In a village time enters you, slowly, naturally. I knew so little about time and its importance when I came here. Eventually, its poetic value has been revealed to me.

They say that I have opted out. That is what they say. I am out of all the great events of the day — or so they tell me. The accusers come yearly and usually in the summer; for none of these kind of people have patience with a village in winter, and they point their finger at me for having turned my back on what they call current affairs. They tell me that a poet should not avoid what is going on in the world.

A poet should be with the mass of mankind, they say; a poet should carry a banner. I do not march, I do not protest, I have not the people's cause at heart — so I am guilty! I do not argue about the colour question or the religious question. I am a guilty innocent, I suppose. Can one be that?

Excerpt from "Akenfield: Portrait of an English Village," by Ronald Blythe. Copyright © 1968 by Ronald Blythe. Reprinted by permission of Pantheon Books, a Division of Random House, Inc.

Ronald Blythe

### The Monitor's religious article

## Are you sensitive?

In the sense that it implies edginess, easily hurt feelings, even bad disposition, most people don't like to be called "sensitive." But there is a kind of sensitivity, or responsiveness, that is a much-needed characteristic. It can be a distinct advantage to the one who has it and a vital encouragement to others.

This God-derived quality helps one to perceive and follow the guidance of the divine Mind. It is our inherent spiritual sense. We can recognize this listening-and-responding ability in ourselves and develop it through understanding prayer. We do so by realizing and continually affirming our true selfhood to be wholly spiritual. We are man, the image, or expression, of God.

Because man is perfect in Mind, we can, in reality, be responsive only to the divine will. Man always expresses the intelligence and harmony of his creator. He is entirely free from material discord, disease, and wrongdoing. He expresses divine Principle, perfect Life and Love.

When we realize this true, spiritual nature of man to be ours, we express it more. We gain control over human emotions that tend to work against our best intentions. Others begin to see our true selfhood, and we begin to see theirs.

When Christ Jesus said, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free," he was making a demand upon us to learn what is true of ourselves and others, the spiritual reality. We are the immortal children of God, infinite Love. We are harmoniously and beautifully supplied by God with all good qualities that make our expression of life abundant with joy, health, holiness, wisdom, and power.

We need to deny the reality of mortal characteristics: impatience, crotchetyness, envy, egotism. If we deny that these are any part of our true selfhood as God's children, and resolve not to express them, we gain increasing freedom from them. We enjoy a more vigorous expression of our God-given individuality and usefulness.

Watchfulness is essential. We have to

watch what we're taking in and thinking. If we tend to hold on to a bad temper or self-centeredness, we need to be more precise in our denial of mortal traits and beliefs. We need to get to the mental roots of the problem.

The wrong kind of sensitivity is not overcome by the mere admission that it is wrong and should be stopped. The very roots of our irritation — the false beliefs that we are material and capable of evil — are what must be eradicated.

We deny material beliefs effectively when we see that they have no truth, no basis in God, and therefore no actual authority, power, or presence, in our life, which is God-governed. We rob them of their seeming influence when we refuse to believe in them. Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, assures us in our struggle to overcome sensitivity to material beliefs: "We writes: 'Science defines that Mind, not matter, sees, hears, feels, speaks.'"

John 8:32; "Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 485.

## A search that satisfies

Today perhaps more than at any time in recent history long-held concepts are being challenged. Beliefs about religion, about God, about health, about the very substance of things are changing. There is a searching and rethinking going on.

In a deeply satisfying way Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures by Mary Baker Eddy provides a solid basis for rethinking basic assumptions. This book can help its readers understand God. It will help them look beneath the claims of material reality to the permanent truth of spiritual creation. This spiritualization of thought brings healing and a Christian purpose to living.

This book can help you too. You can have a copy of Science and Health by mailing in the coupon below.

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My check for \$2.50 enclosed as payment in full.

4

### DAILY BIBLE VERSE

Eye hath not seen, nor ear  
heard, neither have entered into  
the heart of man, the things  
which God hath prepared for  
them that love him.

1 Corinthians 2:9

### Absolutes: the large and the small of it

anything that you really understand  
you should be able (and willing)  
to explain  
in forty pages  
or a sentence

any truly magnificent thought  
objectified as painting  
should be potent enough to convey itself  
(encompassing)  
by covering a wall  
or a postage stamp

the purest and sweetest of feelings — love  
should be deep enough (transfixed)  
to need for expression  
a lifetime  
or a look

disagree, but at least agree  
that ideas can never be limited  
by size

Madura Workman

## OPINION

Melvin Maddocks

## Are Presidents real?

President Ford gets by on five hours sleep, and falls sound asleep in 10 seconds. For lunch he eats cottage cheese with A-1 sauce. About every 10 days he has his hair cut. He works out by doing 20 push-ups, and pedaling a mile on his exercise cycle, at the firm setting.

These are among the facts revealed in a New York Times Magazine article by the novelist and journalist John Hersey, who logged a working week in the White House observing the President for 10 to 12 hours a day.

Meanwhile, another diarist, Benjamin C. Bradlee, then Newsweek's Washington bureau chief, now execu-

tive editor of the Washington Post, has spilled a bean or two about an earlier President in "Conversations With Kennedy" (Norton, \$7.95). There are behind-the-scenes of Lee Radziwill teaching the Twist to JFK and Beny, as the President called him. The President is portrayed beefing about a \$40,000 charge run up by Jackie at department stores. ("He was really upset, but he kept a faintly amused and quizzical expression on his face.") At less tense moments, we learn, Jackie took the liberty of calling him "Bunny."

Are these revelations part of the mosaic of history? Or are they gossip — inside ploys in a game of presidential trivia?

There are questions of ethics — or at least taste — too. For instance, has Beny served his old friend well by revealing that he and JFK once killed time by attending a blue movie?

But the most interesting question is: Why have these backstage White House stories come out at the same time, along with an onstage White House story in which the actor James Whitmore impersonates Harry Truman for Washington theater audiences? Is all this sudden craving for earthy humanity among our leaders simply a coincidence? Or does this coincidence indicate that we have had enough of what we regard as tape-recorded presidents, presidents who depersonalize themselves as "the presidency," presidents whose arranged sobriety seems to bear the stamp of the seal — president-in-the-abstract?

It is as if there is a hunger for minutiae, for the

intimate details that may trivialize a president or make him appear fallible but finally establish him as a fellow man. "The real Gerald Ford, for better or worse, will always be visible," Hersey concludes. And in one sense this visibility — indeed his tangibility — is what his day-by-day account is all about.

Both the Hersey and the Bradlee logs are, in effect, exercises in verification. Here, Hersey says, is Gerald Ford on a real golf course, swinging a real golf club at a real ball. Here is Gerald Ford's real brown suitcase, stuffed with real work. Lift it. Touch it. These things are real. Therefore, Gerald Ford must be real, too.

The President seems to guess what Hersey's (and the public's) need is, and in an extraordinary scene he invites him into his bedroom to meet Betty Ford, the verifiable wife, propped up on a "small cylindrical pillow," resting her publicized neck.

The Churchills, the de Gaulles — the leaders larger-than-life are gone. We believed in them because we believed in something rather 19th-century called Great. Now we have a 20th-century craving for something called Real. Our credibility gap starts further back. We can't believe a leader is this or that or the other until we believe that, behind the television image, behind the ghost-written speeches, he actually is.

Here is a new mood then, a new requirement. 1976 candidates take note. What the Hersey-Bradlee essays at intimacy finally suggest is that we, like the Chinese, are lining the riverbank, afflicted by doubts of our leaders' existence — waiting for the Chairman to swim. He may or may not be Great. But he had better splash.

Joseph C. Harsch

## Dr. Kissinger's environment

President Ford stoutly denies that he has the slightest thought of parting with his Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, or even of deposing Dr. Kissinger of his "other hat" — that of head of the National Security Council.

But there are, I submit, two changes in the environment in which Dr. Kissinger moves and operates which make a profound change in what he can and cannot do in his capacity as manager of American foreign policy.

The first change is that the new Congress is taking a very real hand in the making of American foreign policy. The United States is back to a "participatory system" in such matters. Leaving aside the question of whether the specific actions taken by the Congress have always been the theoretically best, the essential fact is that the power of the President's first choice with Elliot Richardson is a strong second choice.

The second change is the emergence of President Ford as "the other" point of decision in Washington. This is particularly important in the matter of the Middle East.

President Ford is in the position of the man who must and indeed alone can determine whether July will see another step toward peace or a return to war. Here is the way the matter stands:

From March 8 to 23 Dr. Kissinger used his undoubtedly skillful negotiating to try to narrow the gap between Egypt and Israel's positions. He failed. In his view and in that of President Ford, the failure was due to Israeli inflexibility. Both wanted Israel to soften its final terms.

The important corollary of the above is that a foreign country wishing to do business with the U.S. now needs to know the leaders of the Congress more than it needs to cultivate Dr. Kissinger himself. For an embassy in Washington, its relations with the Congress have suddenly become more important than its access to Dr. Kissinger.

There is nothing for Dr. Kissinger to do in this situation. Only the President can say yes or no to the Israelis. If he says yes, Israel need not meet his definition of flexibility. If he says no, and means it, then Israel will have to ease its terms to get the aid.

Dr. Kissinger was essential and probably irreplaceable back when Richard Nixon could make foreign policy. Congress usually left policymaking to the White House. And Mr. Nixon increasingly left it all to Dr. Kissinger.

This is a new and different world. Congress has strong ideas and the determination to enforce them on the administration. It can and will negotiate and compromise with President Ford. But it chooses to deal with him directly rather than through Dr. Kissinger. The Kissinger skills had full play in the Nixon era. He was the right man for that season. But he is not a man for all seasons. And this is a new season. Many leaders on Capitol Hill, of both parties, now regard him as redundant and replaceable.

All of which is why there is so much speculation in Washington these days about who may be the next Secretary of State. My own grapevine says that Mel Laird, long-time political partner of President Ford, is the President's first choice with Elliot Richardson a strong second choice.

The second change is the emergence of President Ford as "the other" point of decision in Washington. This is particularly important in the matter of the Middle East.

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Unless Israel terms are softened by July it seems almost certain that there will be another war. If they are softened it is possible that there can be another step toward peace. But there is nothing Dr. Kissinger can do to obtain that softening. Only President Ford can do something about it.

Israel has mounted a major campaign in the U.S. to persuade Washington to give them their economic and military aid requests without the quid-pro quo of a softening of their terms. Mr. Ford has been holding up their aid program in a "reassessment" of American Middle East policy. The reassessment is an obvious use of American bargaining power on Israel to induce the softening which the President wants.

## Iran's quest for greatness

By T. B. Millar

Tehran, Iran

Iran's greatly increased oil income is being combined with shrewd diplomacy to the country's considerable political advantage. In 1974, according to official figures, oil export earnings exceeded those for all the previous 65 years put together.

This immense inflow of funds is enabling Shah Reza Pahlavi's government to fulfill a variety of ambitions. The first is to strengthen the country's industrial base, the armed forces, and standards of living. While there may be some imbalance between these at present, there is no doubt that all are on the increase, the first two dramatically so. Iran's gulf coastal area is changing under the impact of new industrial complexes and new or enlarged military facilities, with consequent shifts of population.

The second ambition has been to repeat history and make Iran dominant in the Persian Gulf. Few people in the area doubt the fact — although not all welcome it — that Iran, if not entirely dominant, is by far the strongest power in the gulf.

Whether from a sense of guilt (oil profits), generosity, or realpolitik, Iran has become the major international donor in the region. Credits worth \$1 billion have been made to India, \$750 million to Pakistan, \$100 million to Afghanistan, \$10 million to Bangladesh, and \$65 million to Sri Lanka. India was granted \$250 million to set up a nuclear complex.

Over the Arab-Israeli dispute, the Shah has been deliberately ambivalent. He sees Israel as a brake on Arab radicalism in other directions.

Iranian oil has been vital to Israel, and the only alternative is probably American intervention. But Iran has made a number of gestures toward Islamic countries in the region. Only Libya and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen remain hostile.

Thus, Iran's domestic and diplomatic efforts are expanding. While the Shah does the United States, it is his ultimate goal to reduce the United States' ultimate dependence on Soviet military aid and thus Soviet leverage for using the Iraqi port of Umm Qasr. It will release Iranian and Iraqi forces from high-tension confrontation across the border, and will legalize the present position on the Shah's return to greater political careers.

Mr. Millar is an Australian foreign affairs expert.

## COMMENTARY

One researcher's answer

## Who assassinated Kennedy?

By Priscilla Johnson McMillan

Why, after more than a decade, do so many Americans still have doubts about the assassination of President Kennedy? Why is it hard for so many of us to lay this one event to rest?

For the doubters, and the doubters, are there. They are vocal — and they are listened to. In the first days of April alone, three major national publications carried articles featuring doubts about the Kennedy assassination. A conference about these questions was lately held at Boston University and at present six members of the U.S. House of Representatives, led by Rep. Henry Gonzalez of Texas, are pressing for a new investigation.

Thus a few witnesses were not questioned who ought to have been. Crucial witnesses who knew Oswald well were wasted — because they were questioned ineptly. The final eleven volumes of the commission's 26 volumes of supporting evidence are so atrociously organized that they are hard for anyone to use, and easy for some to distort.

Because of my interest in motive, I am eager to track down as many as I can of Oswald's movements, even his thoughts, during the year and a half before the assassination. Sometimes I need to know what time of day a certain photograph was taken or how long a particular bus ride might take at a given hour of day or night. With difficulty, I have managed to extract guesses at least, from the very back volumes of the report, but nowhere have I found critical newspaper clippings of April, 1963, announcing the return to Dallas of Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker, whom Oswald attempted to shoot on April 10. Yet evidence of this kind can shed light, not on the Walker attempt alone but on the Kennedy assassination.

The commission's decision to sequester even the smallest bit of autopsy evidence was a catastrophic mistake. Publication of all the material made public, I suspect that the doubts about President Kennedy's murder are going to be with us forever.

Mr. McMillan is completing a biography of Marina and Lee Harvey Oswald.

The state of detente

## Brezhnev and the hawks

By Laszlo T. Kiss

After the Soviet Government's repudiation of the United States trade bill, Western Kremlinologists speculated that the hardliners had overruled Leonid Brezhnev and that the detente was in danger. His subsequent disappearance from public view seemed to have confirmed this view. Then, after a couple of months, he suddenly emerged with no signs that his power position had changed.

This latest miscalculation of what might be happening at the pinnacle of the Soviet pyramid was the result of some misconceptions dominant among Kremlinologists. The most misleading is their idea of who the hardliners are and how much power they actually wield. In their view, these consist of the military establishment and conservative members of the Politburo who are pressing Brezhnev to take a tougher stand with the West.

But, disregarding the realities of this iron surveillance, some experts on Soviet affairs have begun interpreting the writings of various military officials as veiled manifestations of their displeasure with Mr. Brezhnev's foreign policy. This hypothetical judgment is absurd. The Kremlin is neither an open debating club, nor could it conceivably be a target for dissident general.

Brezhnev and Co. do, of course, contest all Western theories about the mysteries of their modus operandi. On the contrary, they have made good use of their system's warped image in the West. Whenever they wish to remain adamant at disarmament conferences, they place the responsibility for their truculence on their "hawks" and "the military-industrial complex."

Conjectures about the enemies of detente in high Soviet places do not stop at the doors of the military establishment. The speeches of Politburo members are being analyzed and explained as apparent evidence that the ideological hardliners are threatening Brezhnev's position. This assumption, too, is based on faulty logic. (1) If he is their boss, they would not dare publicly to criticize him; (2) if

Historically, Russia's revolutionary leaders

he is their elected chief, carrying out their collective will, why should they then attack him — especially in public?

The fact is that belligerent writings by generals and ominous speeches by Politburo members do not, on the one hand, contradict the General Secretary's dialectical position, and, on the other, they are parts of an orchestrated effort which the Kremlin makes to keep the West baffled and off balance.

Stalin, by planting his secret agents at all levels of the state and Army, turned constant vigilance into a science of control and thus created modern totalitarianism. The current members of the Politburo inherited this system (the secret that has made the Soviet regime safe from military coups for half a century) and have kept it essentially intact.

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The Kremlin is neither an open debating club, nor could it conceivably be a target for dissident general.

At the other end of the Eurasian spectrum, detente with the West has cast the Russians virtually nothing. Eastern Europe remains the Soviet preserve, as Stalin intended. In addition, despite their unchanged posture and bold troubleshooting in the Middle East, they have succeeded in creating the illusion among some member-nations of NATO that Moscow is their friend. The Kremlin has done very well, indeed, vis-a-vis the affluent West. How they will fare with the hardy heretics of Peking, however, remains to be seen.

But most important of all, the Spanish Army has not been demoralized and radicalized by a long and unsuccessful colonial war. Officers have spoken to insist that never again will the Army allow itself to be used as a political tool; but neither, they say, will it allow extremists of left or right to seize power.

The Army, then, should be a stabilizing factor to prevent the Communists causing chaos while democracy gets a fair chance. But the democratic politicians will surely not have unlimited time to prove they can produce results as well as eloquent addresses.

Mr. Kiss is a PhD candidate in modern European history at Fordham University, New York.

## Spain after Franco

By Francis Renni

While Portugal helter-skelter into an improbable brew of military Marxism, next-door Spain stands within a few months of entering its 40th year of conservative dictatorship. But the 82-year-old Caudillo, General Francisco Franco, now Europe's longest lasting ruler, cannot last forever. The question becomes more and more urgent: after Franco, what?

Spaniards may have been living under a dictatorship for 40 years, but it has not discouraged them from being the most talkative aficionados of politics in the world. They stay up till two or three in the morning debating the issue, continue at eight, and far from using the long Spanish lunch break for a siesta, return to political argument once again. And what they have to say becomes increasingly unrestrained.

Although gatherings of more than 20 people without an official permit are in theory forbidden, all kinds of "cultural" excuses are being found for get-togethers of many times that number.

In theory, too, political parties are illegal. But everyone knows of at least eight, what their names are and who their leaders are. Besides the Communists — whose underground network has run from Prague or Paris — there are pro- and anti-communists of various shades, social democrats and liberal centrists, and enlightened conservatives as well as the "ultras" of the fascist Falange.

Franco himself has abandoned the Falange and has been quietly disarming them. Their numbers are probably insufficient now to present a real threat to what el Caudillo has planned for the transition after his departure (now being predicted, for one reason or another) between July and October this year. The scenario is that Prince Juan Carlos — grandson of Alfonso XIII, the last King of Spain — should resume the throne and ease the country gradually into a controlled democracy in which law and order come first. The Prince is already being groomed for the job, although his intimates say he fears that if Franco does not step down in the very near future, the chances of constitutional monarchy being able to satisfy the popular demand for participation in government are dim.

The big trouble is that almost 40 years of authoritarian rule have left everyone without real experience of politics, and everyone except the Communists without political organization. While the conservatives, centrists, Christian democrats and socialists boast of supposed popularity with the people (which they are incapable of putting to the test), the Communists have some 18,000 cell organizers or "militants" many of whom have already penetrated the state-sponsored labor organizations.

Since Pope John XXIII and Vatican Two, the Spanish Catholic church has also become astonishingly radical, particularly among the Basques of Northern Spain who have long resented the authority of Madrid, and who assassinated Franco's last Prime Minister.

But every Spanish politician, of whatever tendency, insists that the country will not and cannot become another Portugal. For one thing, economic development under Franco has given people a standard of living they do not want to lose. For another, Spain is now orderly without being nearly as repressive as foreigners imagine.

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Mr. Renni is a British writer on political affairs.